THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

November 1979
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LIBERTARIAN

The 1979 Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention: Freeing Up The System

Peter Breggin on Liberalism
Plus: David Brudnoy on "Apocalypse Now"

BERNIE LARSEN

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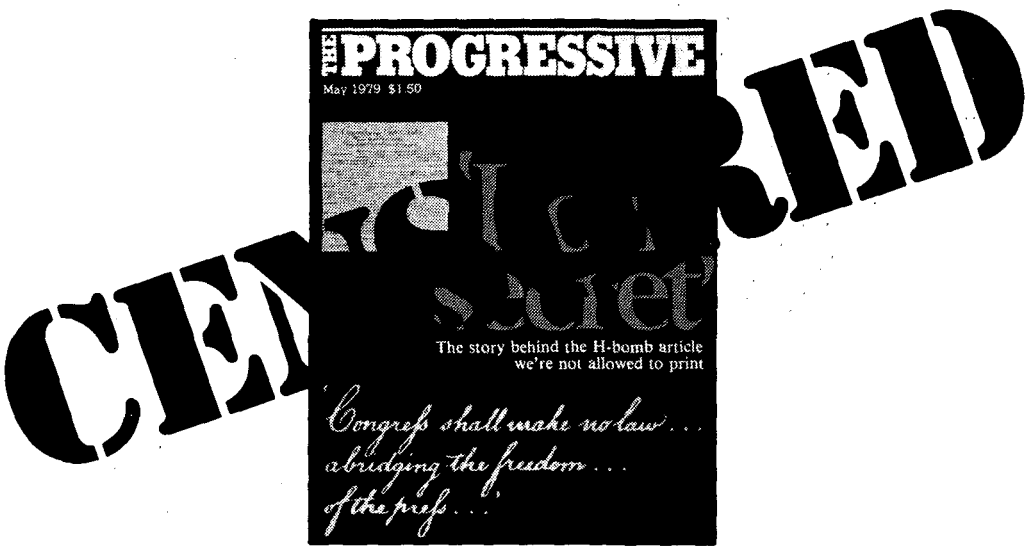
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THE LIBERTARIAN REVIEW

November 1979
Volume 8, No. 9

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by Marshall E. Schwartz

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OPENING SHOTS

BILL BIRMINGHAM

IN OUR LAST column we stated that Edward Teller claimed the title of "The Only Victim of Three Mile Island" "after suffering a heart attack while debating Jane Fonda." Unfortunately we were in error. Teller made his claim in a lavish, double-page ad in the August 1, *Wall Street Journal* sponsored by Dresser Industries and said: "On May 7, a few weeks after the accident at Three Mile Island, I was in Washington. I was there to refute some of the propaganda that Ralph Nader, Jane Fonda and their kind are spewing to the news media in their attempt to frighten people away from nuclear power. I am 71 years old, and I was working 20 hours a day. The strain was too much. The next day, I suffered a heart attack. You might say that I was the only one whose health was affected by that reactor near Harrisburg. No, that would be wrong. It was not the reactor. It was Jane Fonda. Reactors are not dangerous." (An opinion which might be disputed by the *real* victims of Three Mile Island: those expected to die from radiation induced cancer. Estimates of their number range from one (Joe Califano) to perhaps 300 to 2500 (Dr. Ernest Sternglass). Whether this makes reactors "dangerous," or more dangerous than other forms of power, is a matter of debate. You pays your money and the utilities make your choice for you.) Speaking of propaganda, neither Teller nor Dresser Industries, his sponsor, saw fit to mention Dresser's role at Harrisburg. "It was a Dresser valve that stuck open during the Three Mile Island accident," says NRC Commissioner Peter Bradford, "allowing the cooling water to escape the reactor cooling system and exposing the nuclear core." Dresser indignantly denies this, saying, "It is not known whether the valve failed to close or merely leaked excessively."

Talk about your news twisters: Andrew Kopkind, writing in the *Columbia Journalism Review,* has found a particularly flagrant example of media bias on PBS's *Macneil/Lehrer Report.* "A program last spring on the implications of the new international trade agreement focused on protectionism—the practice of erecting barriers to imports and subsidizing domestic manufacturing. The panelists were all free-traders ... The discussion assumed that free trade was indisputably good, and protectionism bad. Notable was the absence of any representative of the protectionist side, which has many adherents these days not only among businessmen threatened by foreign competition, but in sectors of the labor movement and the political left, where there is support for national economic planning, which would require some protectionist measures to help redirect market forces." Was Kopkind maybe expecting *public television* to give a forum to those reactionaries? After all, one can carry objectivity only so far.

Who among us does not delight in seeing the biter bit, and an evildoer trapped in the pit he had dug for another? In like manner it gave us great pleasure to read that François Mitterrand, chief of France's Socialist party, and several other party leaders are under indictment for illegal, private enterprise radio broadcasting . "Without wishing to dismantle the state broadcasting monopoly (a much-disputed system they would preserve), the Socialists have twice broken the law in recent months by organizing pirate radio broadcasts to denounce the government's alleged dominance of the air waves," says the London *Economist.* "In late June, at the government's behest, Paris police smashed their way into the party's old headquarters in the hope of discovering a pirate transmitter, scuffling with Socialist deputies and setting off a fierce political row." This is surely the most satisfying case of poetic justice since the IRS audited Richard Nixon; best of all, according to the *Economist:* "The Socialists were right in claiming that the authorities had been rougher with them than with scores of other 'free' radio entrepreneurs in recent years."

If you enjoyed Peter Collier's sympathetic article on libertarianism in *New West* magazine ("The Next American Revolution," August 27, 1979), check out his decidedly unsympathetic piece on Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden ("I Remember Fonda," *New West,* September 24, 1979), whom he dubs "the Mork and Mindy of California politics." As the title indicates, Collier knew Fonda and Hayden when they professed to be radicals; indeed, Fonda has credited Mr. Collier with "having introduced her to the Left." That was in early 1970, when she asked him for an introduction to the Indian militants who were occupying Alcatraz. "I remember being amazed," Collier remarks, "by the acuteness with which Fonda sized up the situation and immediately moved with incredible sureness to the center of the then-ruling clique ... When I left she was smoking dope with them and making insider's jokes about the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other of the red man's oppressors." That was also the period when Hayden

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COMING HOME

was calling for armed struggle and "a new 'communist party' replete with an underground, democratic centralism, the works." Criticism he dismissed as "anti-Stalinist bullshit." ("It was a time when Stalin was undergoing rehabilitation among certain circles in Berkeley," explains Collier.) He even contrived to antagonize the Black Panthers, no less, by shouting revolutionary slogans at Huey Newton's birthday party. Eventually Hayden was purged from the Red Family, a Berkeley "collective" of his own creation, for "elitism," "bourgeois privatism" and promoting a "cult of personality" centered on himself (no mean feat, for a man generally deemed to have "all the charisma of an iguana"), so he left for Los Angeles, married Fonda and set about insinuating himself into the Democratic party establishment by means of what Collier calls "Brown-nosing." This involves trading on his radical credentials to drum up support on the left for Jerry Brown. (Fonda has supposedly promised "to extract a rumored $3-million from Hollywood liberals for Brown's 1980 presidential bid") in exchange for patronage and political appointments calculated to deodorize those credentials for the electorate at large: "letting them believe he was always a liberal Democrat manqué waiting for his radical cocoon to open." Observes Collier sourly: "Thus does the current crisis give birth, as if by immaculate conception, to the new politicians. And behold! They have the same consuming ambition, the same disdain for the truth and the same contempt for our intelligence as the old ones did."

Susan Brownmiller, the walking argument for patriarchy, has laid down The Word in the Op-Ed pages of the *Los Angeles Times* (August 5, 1979). "My liberal friends," she informs us, "are going to have to do some serious rethinking. Now that the women's movement has committed itself to the fight against pornography, we don't care to be told that our effort is hopeless . . . because the First Amendment stands between us and success." Nothing more, so far, than standard feminist Comstockery; as unrelenting, if not as physical, as that practiced by Boston's Marcia Womongold, who according to the *New York Times* (July 19, 1979) "marches into 'adult' bookstores and squirts gooey dishwashing fluid on publications she finds lewd." (The *Times* quotes Elaine Noble, the lesbian ex-state legislator now on the staff of Mayor Kevin White, as saying: "I think she has guts. We're going to have to give her a Mayor's citation.") But Brownmiller has picked up some very strange allies: " 'To equate the free and robust exchange of ideas and political debate with commercial exploitation of obscene material demeans the grand conception of the First Amendment and its high purposes in the historic struggle for freedom. It is a misuse of the great guarantees of free speech and free press.' I didn't say that [says Brownmiller], although I wish I had, for I think the words are thrilling. Chief Justice Warren E. Burger said it in 1973, in the U.S. Supreme Court's majority opinion in *Miller* v. *California*."

And he wonders why he's dropping in the polls ... while loafing down the Mississippi River last August, President Carter took some time out to press the flesh at Burlington, Iowa, where he declared that nuclear power is "inevitable." One persistent questioner, reports the *Los Angeles Times* (August 23, 1979), "pressed Carter on the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe in the farm belt, and the President seemed momentarily stumped. 'The only way I can answer you,' he said after a pause, 'is that if we have a catastrophic accident, that would be a catastrophe.' " ❑

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THE LIBERTARIAN EDITORIALS

Cuba and the hawks

IF IT HAD NO consequences of any significance, the recent "Cuban crisis" which has burst into public view, blaring at us from television and from the cover of *Time* magazine, would have about it the air of a farce. But it *does* have consequences. It is part of an attempt by resurgent militarists to resurrect the Cold War, and gain justification for greater defense spending and a more bellicose U.S. foreign policy. It must therefore be looked at sharply.

The Cuban crisis has been created out of whole cloth, and it ought to discredit the foreign policy hawks completely. That it won't is merely another sign of the corruption both of American foreign policy and of the media which cover it.

The crisis began in mid-July, when, to help sink SALT II—about which we ourselves are less than enamored — U.S. intelligence forces leaked to Florida Senator Richard Stone the information that a "new" Soviet combat brigade of 2000 to 3000 troops had been stationed in Cuba. In late August, after some exchanges with the State Department, Senator Frank Church made a public announcement about the troops, combined with a demand that they be withdrawn immediately — otherwise, he warned, SALT II wouldn't stand a chance.

Church had been one of the more reasonable Senators on Cold War issues, but pressure from the right—a tough reelection campaign coming up in Idaho against, most probably, conservative hawk Steve Symms—caused him to cave in and join the ranks of the sabre-rattlers, playing up the new "Soviet threat" for all it was worth.

But Church was not alone. Senator Howard Baker, running for the Republican Presidential nomination, denounced the Soviets, as well as those who were insufficiently suspicious of their "motives." Big John Connally, too, called for removal of the troops, pointing to estimates that they had been there perhaps since 1975 and finding that cause to moan about the quality of U.S. "intelligence," as indeed we should about his. Carter and Vance, meanwhile, faced with a looming Kennedy challenge to Carter's "leadership," feigned new "toughness," and Vance warned that they would "not be satisfied with the maintenance of the status quo." Ronald Reagan said that the U.S. "should not have any further communications with the Soviet Union" until the combat forces were "sent back to Russia." Not to be outdone was Senator Henry Jackson, who accused the Soviet Union of trying to turn Cuba into a "fortress-state capable of threatening the United States," and seconded the notion that SALT was doomed—unless every last Russian got off Cuba.

Even the *Wall Street Journal*, growing ever-more hawkish, called the episode "a new Soviet provocation," and in an editorial (September 11) titled "Reject SALT Now," sounded the alarm about Soviet intentions "to land troops on Long Beach or Long Island." On October 3, they were back: "as for SALT, what does the Cuban episode tell us about the Soviets? Clearly they are on the march in the world, under cover of their huge military buildup."

We would rather ask another question: what does this whole episode tell us about the American foreign policy elite?

Most of the Soviet troops, with changes in personnel, have been in Cuba, not since early 1979, evidencing some new "Soviet provocation," nor even for the "several years" admitted by Carter. Even the hawk Major General George Keegan, former Air Force intelligence chief and darling of the new militarists, places the origin further back that that: Keegan recalls having seen reports about the Soviet combat force "five or six years ago," but notes that no one thought much about it. "We sort of forgot about it," he says.

And for good reason: the Soviet troops in Cuba are nothing but a remnant of the more than twenty-five thousand troops which were there at the time of the missile crisis in 1962. And while Fidel Castro is certainly an evil despot who ought to be overthrown by the Cuban people, there is simply not one shred of evidence to contradict him when he states that American presidents have known about these troops ever since December 1962. There is no doubt but that Kennedy knew about them; and Nelson Rockefeller, in a 1969 report to Richard Nixon after a "fact-finding" mission to Latin America, himself reported the presence of about 6000 Soviet troops in Cuba. Castro is also probably right in claiming that "Carter has been dishonest, insincere, immoral, and he has been deceiving the American people ... An artificial problem has been created. The fact that Carter may be in a crisis situation [at home] does not give him the right to place in crisis the world."

What this means is that the "new provocation" by the Soviet Union consists of an actual *reduction* of armed strength in Cuba of

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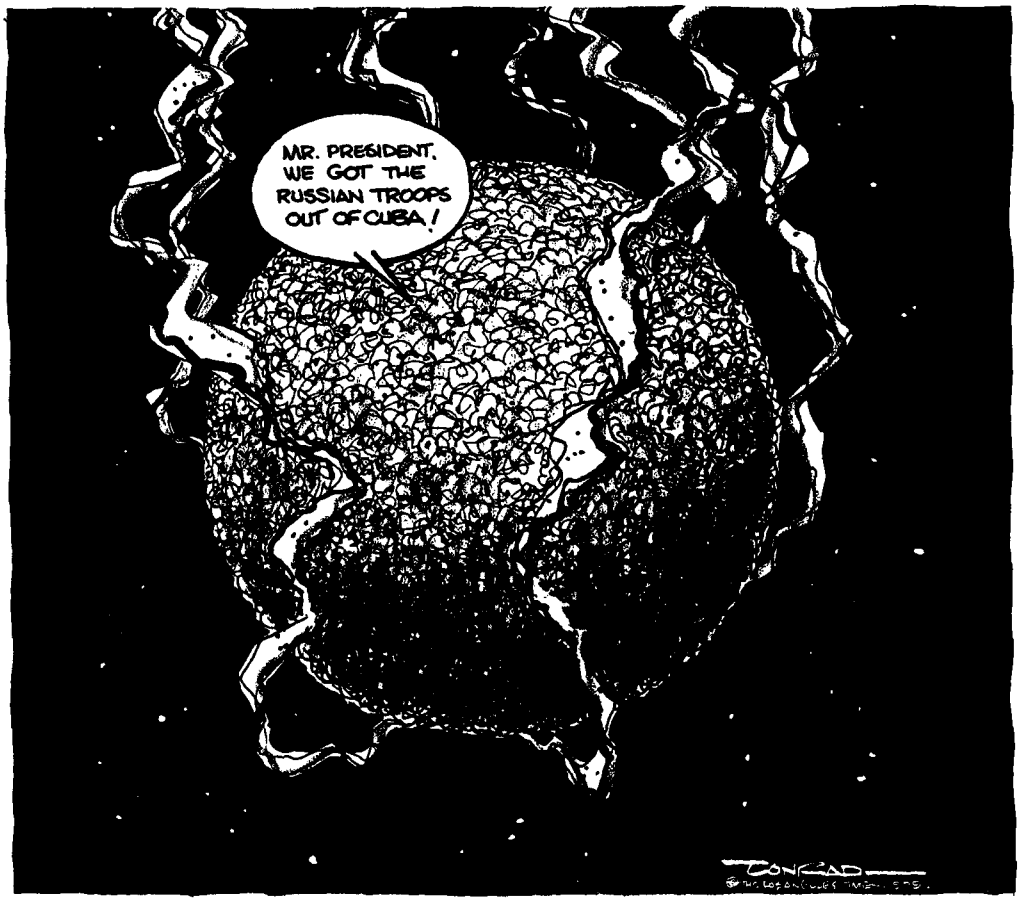

between 20 and 35 percent over the past decade, and a good deal more since 1962. If we wish to get a little tougher with the hawks, we can also note that the number of Soviet troops in Cuba is roughly equal to our own: 2300 Americans are stationed at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba so far, with 1600 Marines to be deployed there at the end of October for maneuvers — even though the commander of the Marines already in Cuba, Col. Mark Fennessy, has disclaimed any knowledge of any military buildup by the Soviets.

The new "threat" becomes even more comic if we consider what weapons the Soviet brigade is supposed to have — a few firearms, field artillery pieces, plus about 40 tanks with, as Vance has admitted, "no air or sealift capability associated with the brigade which would give it an assault capability." What are they going to *do* with their tanks, then — drive them into the sea?

It seems hypocritical, to say the least, that while some American leaders are making such a fuss over the 2500 or so Soviet troops in Cuba, "A Defense Department study has concluded that the U.S. should bolster China's military potential so that Peking could assist the West in a war with the Soviet Union," according to the *New York Times* (October 4). The study recommends "possible steps, including the provision of advanced technology and intelligence data to China, the sale of advanced arms, *Chinese production of American weapons, and joint military exercises.*" (emphasis added)

This secret study, prepared a few months ago and obtained in October by the *Times,* claims that it would be to the U.S.'s "benefit" to "encourage Chinese actions that would heighten Soviet security concerns." And, to nail down the point, we learn from Columnist William Safire that Carter has announced in "background" remarks that Defense Secretary Harold Brown will soon be sent to meet officially with Chinese defense chief Xu Xiangqian, and that fifteen of our top military planning and hardware experts will soon begin comparing notes with the Chinese. The next day, the *New York Times* reported that "A high-ranking Atlantic alliance group has recommended approval of an American plan for deployment in Western Europe of 572 nuclear-armed missiles that would be capable of striking targets in the Soviet Union."

And how has the "expansionist" Leonid Brezhnev responded to all this? On October 6, carrying through on plans made earlier, he announced that 20,000 Soviet troops and 1000 tanks would be unilaterally withdrawn from East Germany over the next twelve months. And in another antagonistic move, Brezhnev offered to reduce the number of medium-range missiles in the Soviet Union.

So consider what we have here: evidence that the Soviet Union has had troops in Cuba since 1962, that this has been known by every American president since Kennedy, and that the number has been slowly, gradually, reduced, so that today it stands at less than it did in 1969. We have no evidence of any *new* Soviet "provocation." We know that the "new" intelligence information was actually *old* information, conveniently "forgotten," and leaked to help sink SALT II, to bolster the electoral chances of weak candidates like Church and Carter, to embarrass Castro while he was at a meeting of unaligned nations, and to serve as a cover for increasing American defense spending. In short, we know that the new crisis was manufactured for political purposes, and that the charge of a new "threat" was a cynical, calculated lie.

At the same time, we know that the U.S. is working with Atlantic alliance members to deploy *five hundred and seventy two new nuclear weapons* which will be poised against the Soviet Union, and that top American military personnel are meeting with Chinese military officials, taking new steps in a U.S.-Chinese military alliance which will include (as predicted in "Playing the China Card," *LR* January 1979), military aid to Communist China: both weapons and "joint military exercises." And all the while the Soviet Union is making unilateral moves to decrease its military presence in East Germany. Who is a threat to whom?

The new Cuban crisis is an outrage: manufactured by partisans of the old, failing, bipartisan foreign policy of global intervention, the arms race, and war. Opposing these policies should be one of our highest priorities. ❑

—RAC

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LIBERTARIANS

IN CONVENTION

MARSHALL E. SCHWARTZ

"There is tremendous irony here," smiled District of Columbia delegate Jay Hilgartner as he took the microphone to cast the three votes that would put Los Angeles attorney Ed Clark over the top for the Libertarian Party's 1980 presidential nomination.

The impromptu remark by Hilgartner, executive director of the Young Libertarian Alliance, that he had come to the 1970 LP National Convention in Los Angeles from "the home of innumerable thieves, extortionists — and a few good people," was received with the expected hearty laughter by the delegates and alternates, representing all but three states. But the irony cut deeper than the obvious intent: the irony that a political party dedicated to eliminating politics as we know it could muster more than 2000 dedicated souls for what had been more than accurately advertised as "the greatest libertarian event of the decade"; the irony that a party which had to recruit its first presidential candidate in 1972 would witness a spirited battle between two able contenders—Ed Clark and New Hampshire businessman Bill Hunscher—only seven years later; and the irony that a party with but one elected official across the entire nation could reasonably hope that 1980 would be the year it would fulfill its convention theme, "Toward a Three Party System."

Although the atmosphere outside the gleaming cylinders of the Bonaventure Hotel was thick and foul (as the convention ended on September 9, Los Angeles was in the midst of its worst smog attack in 25 years), the atmosphere within its walls was heady indeed. Perhaps part of the reason was that, wherever you turned during the five-day gathering, you knew you were surrounded by other libertarians — a strange but surprisingly exhilarating sensation. Perhaps it was the significant and fair — even positive — coverage the convention drew from both the national and local media. Whatever it was, the atmosphere clearly reflected the common feeling that the LP had reached a major milestone in its march toward becoming America's *third* major party. From *LR* Editor Roy Childs' rousing, slashing keynote address, through speeches by Nathaniel Branden, Thomas Szasz, Paul Gann, John Hospers, Roger McBride, Gene McCarthy, Murray Rothbard, Walter Williams, Peter Breggin — and too many others to mention, through the seemingly endless platform negotiations (which were never completed because the floor debates ran so far beyond the alloted time), through the nominations and presidential and vice presidential balloting, and Ed Clark's hard-hitting acceptance speech, to the Presidential Banquet featuring Orson Bean and Robert Ringer, and finally winding down on Sunday—it was an exhausting but exhilarating convention.

It was a joyous occasion, but with its own elements of sadness: that of Bill Hunscher, for example, who had worked so long and hard for the presidential nomination, energetically spreading the libertarian credo from coast to coast, only to lose 365-195 when all the delegates' votes had been tabulated. But above all else, the 1979 convention was a convincing demonstration to all the LP members in attendance that the impossible wasn't impossible anymore—that the Libertarian Party, with enough hard work, could become the midwife at a rebirth of freedom in the United States, the steppingstone to a Second American Revolution.

How could one not have a positive, even elated, attitude toward 1980 when, by the end of the Presidential Banquet, nearly as much money had been contributed and pledged to the campaign as the $600,000 the LP was able to collect for the *entire* 1976 effort? And the genesis of most of that beginning war chest was one of the principal surprises of the convention — the unexpected, successful vice-presidential candidacy of David Koch, one of the three Koch brothers who have been financial angels for many aspects of the libertarian movement for the last several years. Seeking to support the Libertarian Party's 1980 campaign as vigorously as he could, David Koch — president of Koch Engineering of New York and Abcor of Massachusetts—ran into the Catch-22 of the federal election laws, designed to preserve and expand the power and privilege of the Republican and Democratic Parties. He found he was limited to a total of $1000 in contributions to the presidential campaign.

But the Supreme Court had recently struck down some provisions of the election code, removing the contribution

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limits from the presidential and vice-presidential candidates themselves. So in mid-August, Koch sent a letter to all delegates, offering himself as a vice-presidential candidate so that he could chip in "several hundred thousand dollars." There were a few whispered suggestions that the Kochs were trying to "buy the party," but that vituperative rumor drew no palpable support.

What disturbed more of the delegates was Koch's original declaration that he would not actively participate in the campaign. While the majority evidently didn't agree with Bill Hunscher's claim that the LP needed a full-time, 14-month campaign, it seemed more than passing strange that the number two person on the ticket would hardly campaign at all. Then David Koch came to Los Angeles and started meeting the delegates and guests. After scores of conversations with LP members, his interest and confidence in campaigning began to grow. And in the end, at the Presidential Banquet Saturday night, when Koch and Clark stood on the dais with arms raised, as the band played the theme song from "Rocky" in the background, it was hard to tell which one was the novice and which had already been through an arduous California gubernatorial campaign and garnered 378,980 votes. Koch had pledged not only a half-million dollars to kick off the campaign, but also to campaign "whenever and wherever Ed Clark thinks I can be effective." The LP had come further than most of the 86 brave souls whom Dave Nolan had gathered together in the Radisson Hotel in Denver in June 1972 had dared to hope.

Wednesday, September 5

It was a full year before the Democratic and Republican conventions, and the day before most of the delegates and visitors would begin getting down to business, but the 1979 Libertarian Presidential Nominating Convention was underway. Registration had opened, and the platform committee was about its work, hearing testimony from a diverse lot of people, preparing the document which was to be presented to the delegates in convention. The two candidates for the presidential nomination kicked things off with a news conference. Both Clark and Hunscher agreed that the Libertarian Party candidate wasn't going to win the 1980 presidential election, but that he could be expected to get several million votes, "enough to make the difference between the Republicans and the Democrats," as Clark told the media. That would be enough to gain the balance of power in American politics: It would mark the beginning of the end for the two party monopoly.

"Our market is the people who have already taken the first step to becoming a libertarian," explained Hunscher, "by saying they don't want anything to do with the Republicans or Democrats."

Clark and Hunscher agreed on all but two issues—Salt II and a constitutional convention to produce a balanced budget amendment. Clark favored both, Hunscher opposed them. They stressed their opposition to the draft, subsidies and price controls, victimless crime laws, and regulation of the economy. "Inflation is a deliberate Republican and Democratic policy," Clark told reporters. "They consciously choose to have deficits, financing them by expanding the money supply. They spend more than they take in, to buy off special interests. The Libertarian Party is the only anti-inflation party."

That evening, the Society for Individual Liberty held its "10th Anniversary of the Movement Banquet," a four-hour extravaganza given over, not to the future, to which the rest

NEIL HEILPERN

Libertarian Presidential hopefuls Bill Hunscher and Ed Clark meet the press

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of the convention would be devoted, but to the past. Featured were four guests of honor: Murray Rothbard, Robert LeFevre, Nathaniel Branden, and Roy Childs, and they and others who had been prominent in the movement for the past decade and more reminisced about the path the libertarian movement had taken. Tribute was also paid by the assembled 400 libertarians to hosts Don Ernsberger and Dave Walters, indefatigable workers for SIL over the last ten years.

Roy Childs paid tribute to LeFevre, Branden and Rothbard, pointing to their indispensable roles in the growth of the movement, and paid tribute as well to other founders of the movement not present. "If we were very, very lucky," Childs said, "Leonard Reed, F. A. Hayek and Milton Friedman would be here. If miracles existed, Ayn Rand would be here. And if God existed, Ludwig von Mises would be with us." Other speakers throughout the evening, from SIL co-founder Jarret Wollstein to Laissez-faire Books founders Sharon Presley and John Muller and LP founder Dave Nolan, were warmly received as they spoke about the history of the movement and its heroes. The surprise of the evening came from Frank Bond, an East Coast businessman who was, along with the late M. C. "Coke" Reeves, one of the earliest financial angels for the fledgling libertarian movement, and who had, for more than ten years, remained behind the scenes. At the SIL banquet, he came out of the closet, wishing the assembled libertarians well, since they were, he claimed in a moving talk, the only hope for the future.

Thursday, September 6

The convention began to gather momentum on Thursday morning; at 8 a.m., the corridors of the Bonaventure Hotel were flooded with libertarians, heading to hear the kick-off breakfast talk of the LP's one elected official, Alaska State Legislator Dick Randolph.

At about a quarter to nine, Randolph was introduced and received a standing ovation. The road to dismantling the state is a difficult one, he declared. "We have to work longer, harder, and stronger than the people we are opposing." But victory *is* possible, he continued, pointing to the fact that in Fairbanks, Alaska, the Libertarian Party has already displaced the Republican Party as the number two party. "If we can achieve the same success statewide in 1980 as we did in Fairbanks in 1978, we can deliver our three electoral votes to whomever our candidate may be," Randolph added with a flourish, and was greeted by wild cheers.

Randolph related some of his activity during his eight months in office. Most recent is his initiative to repeal the state income tax, which has been labeled by the press the "Randolph Libertarian Tax Initiative." Already the proposal has been endorsed by the city councils of both Fairbanks and Anchorage. "The trouble is," Randolph smiled, "that whenever I think of a good idea, the Republicans and Democrats jump right on, and I have to think of a still further step." His pending bills to legalize various victimless crimes have been gaining surprising support from the other parties, and of 40 legislators, he has had 14 cosponsors for his gambling bill, 11 for his measure to legalize prostitution, and nine for his bill to legalize narcotics! This is a "very substantial showing of support for the libertarian position," he remarked.

Randolph stated that the Alaskan Party was aiming at a serious race for the governorship in 1982, claiming that "Alaska is a microcosm of what has to happen all across the country. But the people in Alaska still think they're free. They're like a canary in a cage who, if you feed it and water it, and it flaps its wings a bit, thinks it is free." Randolph ended with a challenge to libertarians in the other parties: leave them and join us, he exhorted. "Let's give the people a real choice between the socialistic syndrome and freedom!" The audience loved him.

As the time for the keynote approached, the convention floor looked not too dissimilar from what you'd expect to find at a Republican or Democratic convention—state delegation signs sprouting like a crop of mushrooms, delegates and alternates at their tables, festooned with assorted Clark and Hunscher regalia, media representatives clustered off to one side of the podium, cameras ready to roll. But there were none of the usual statist obsequies to start off the meeting. National Chairman Dave Bergland simply stepped to the mike, said hello, and then introduced the keynote speaker, *LR*'s editor, Roy A. Childs, Jr.

Childs warmed up his audience slowly. "We are here to celebrate the growth of a dynamic new political party and movement," he proclaimed. "We have come a long, long way in the last eight years. We have begun to capture the attention of the American people, who are sick unto death of the two party system and want a real political alternative for the first time in their lives." After a brief ovation subsided, Childs asked, "Do we have the will to victory? I say that we do!" And was greeted by a roar of approval from the thousands of delegates, alternates and visitors who filled the Bonaventure's San Francisco ballroom. Childs then began his incisive dissection of the Republicans and Democrats and their putative candidates. "The Republican Party is a hopeless shell, politically bankrupt, with no vision and no alternative to offer the American people," Childs declared. As for the potential candidates themselves:

Gerald Ford is "One of the wooden soldiers of the status quo"—an assessment that was taken from one of the "only correct statements LBJ ever made."

Ronald Reagan "postures as an opponent of big government," but has become one of the staunchest defenders of big government in our time.

George Bush, "the former head of the CIA, who promises us a 'new candor,'" Childs described as "one of the true monsters in American politics today." Bush supported intervention in Iran to prop up the Shah, he pointed out, while denying in the process that he was even advocating intervention. "The fact that such a man could be running for president is a symbol of the political bankruptcy of this country.

John Connally is a "repugnant" individual who managed to become a protege both of Richard Nixon and of Lyndon Johnson, using political power to amass and consolidate his economic power, supporting every vestige of the Corporate State, from the Lockheed and Penn Central bailouts to wage and price controls, national service, and stepped-up defense spending. Connally, Childs declared, is "the symbol of political corruption today."

The Democrats, "one more rung lower into hell," fared no better at Childs' hands. Jerry Brown he labeled "a Hindu mystic version of Richard Nixon" and a "master politicial chameleon. When he proclaims that small is beautiful, one is moved to suspect that he is refering to his own integrity, consistency and brains."

Ted Kennedy, through his proposed national health insurance plan, wants to impose a "bone-crushing level of taxation" on this country. But a Kennedy victory, Childs suggested, "just might cure the American people of the New

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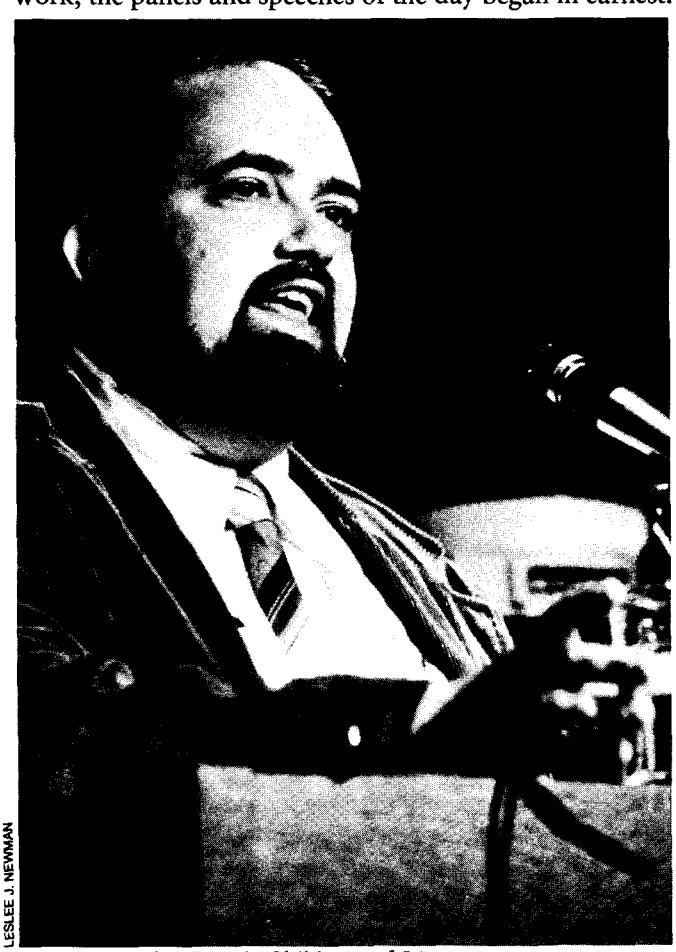
Deal mystique." As for President Carter, Childs dismissed him with a few references to the misbegotten rabbit that reportedly attacked him on a Georgia lake. This was the symbol of the Carter Administration, Childs said — "the spectacle of the president of the United States reduced to beating off a rabbit with an oar."

"These are the purveyors of privilege, pure demagogues," he said. "Compared with men like these, Clark and Hunscher loom as giants!" After the delegates' cheers had subsided, Childs briefly demolished the newest font of statism, the proposed "Citizens Party"—"the final struggle of the New Class for power in our society"—and went on to review those issues that will be central to the 1980 campaign. Inflation, regulation, miseducation, the income tax, drug laws, and the rotten fruits of World War II, Korea, Vietnam, and other interventionist adventures. "This is the legacy of the Republicans and Democrats," he asserted. "We have for too long beheld with silent indignation the injustices they have imposed upon us."

"We mean to change the course of history," Childs proclaimed. "Our ancestors came to this country because they wanted to build new lives for themselves as free men and free women. They came here because they would not bow down before kings and before tyrants. Yet tyranny is here, and submission is a crime." His voice rising in a final crescendo, Childs concluded: "Let us build a new and decent party, based on individual rights, free from the dead hand of coercion and violence. And if they ask us, by what right do we resist, we will answer, 'we are the *American people,* and we will not bend before the power of the state!' "David Bergland joined Childs on the podium to enthusiastic applause, and as the crowd quieted down for the day's work, the panels and speeches of the day began in earnest.

One of Ed Clark's campaign themes had been "building a new consensus," and Bill Hunscher's approach of going after disillusioned voters echoed much of the same theme. With libertarian positions on issues crisscrossing the conventional left-right political spectrum, with libertarians upholding political values which are not easily pigeonholed, it is only natural that the 1979 convention, the most significant libertarian event of the 1970s, put together by Ed Crane and a dedicated group of libertarians, would echo this scorn for the conventional wisdom of liberals and conservatives. Indeed, one of the things which the media habitually finds confusing about libertarian gatherings is the strange mix of politics of the participants. Since they do not understand the ideological roots of our opposition to state power on all levels, they do not grasp the rationale for the "strange bedfellows" who are found at LP gatherings. The 1979 convention was a dramatic illustration of this, with speakers ranging from conservative Paul Gann, one of the fathers of the tax revolt, to Morton Halperin, critic of the FBI.

Picking up much of the audience after Childs's keynote was author and activist Ron Kovic. Kovic, author of *Born on the Fourth of July,* is the disabled Marine veteran who has been a leader in the antiwar movement for years. He spoke on "Fighting the Draft". The Libertarian Party convention, he told his audience, was "the beginning of a new voice, a new movement in this country, which will lead to a time when we have no Vietnams, and no need to have Ron Kovics to speak to you." But that time is still far away, he said, for today we are faced with a "growing militarism, and a growing forgetfulness in this country, and people like myself sometimes feel like a voice crying out in the wilderness. They're talking about OPEC the way they talked about the



LESLEE J. NEWMAN

Keynote speaker Roy A. Childs, Jr. of *LR*

BERNIE LARSEN

Libertarian legislator Dick Randolph of Alaska

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Vietnamese—They're prepping you for another war."

In the wake of Vietnam and Watergate, however, Kovic said, continued efforts by the state to control the people are bringing on a "tremendous rage, anger, and resentment in the hearts of the American people." The only way to prevent this rage from turning into a "violent confrontation between the U.S. government and the American people is through a third party," he insisted. The emergence of a "powerful third party is inevitable. And you are the beginning of it."

On the other side of the main convention floor, as if to underscore the consistent opposition to government coercion and defense of individual liberty which underlies the libertarian program, was the "Tax Revolt" panel, chaired by James Tobin, a leader in the Illinois tax revolt. Paul Gann, head of People's Advocate and coauthor (with Howard Jarvis) of Proposition 13 in California, reviewed the effects of that measure on the state's economy. While some 400,000 public jobs have been eliminated, he said, the private sector has added 552,000 more jobs. And the unemployment picture in California—which was once the highest in the country—has been radically altered, with the unemployment rate dropping from 7.2 percent before Proposition 13 to 5.9 percent today. But the bureaucrats have been developing new ploys to avoid the strictures Prop 13 has placed on them, by charging dues and fees for services which were once paid for by taxes—services that the state forces the citizen to accept. In some parts of California, Gann explained, it now costs $5000 to get all the permits needed to build a house.

To counter these dirty tricks, Gann is sponsoring a new initiative on this November's ballot—Proposition 4—which would "limit the amount of money the government of this state could spend," by tying it to the cost of living, inflation, and per capita income. The state's legislative analyst has estimated the measure would save California taxpayers $2-billion the first year after it was enacted, $4-billion the second year, and $6-billion each year thereafter. This approach — the "tax limitation" approach, rather than the alternative favored by most libertarians, the radical tax cut —is criticized by some, but Gann doesn't think it is the last step. "We're going to take this country back from the bureaucrats," he asserts. "But we have to keep working constantly. If we're not responsible, we're not going to be free very long."

If Libertarians are indeed the party of peace, and the tax-revolt party, as Ed Clark was to put it in his acceptance speech, and as was illustrated by Kovic and Gann, that it is also the party of civil liberties was appropriately symbolized by the next speaker, Dr. Thomas Szasz, the man whose spirited defense of "deviants" of all persuasions make the ACLU pale by comparison. Szasz was in fine form before his audience of several hundred fans, as he presented his pungent comments on "Psychodrama in the White House"—comments which will be published in next month's LR.

One of the most explosive issues which libertarians have been deeply involved with over the past year is the fight against the attempt to revive the draft. Students for a Libertarian Society, under the able directorship of Milton Mueller, has been in the lead in opposing the draft, and has distributed hundreds of thousands of antidraft tabloids on campuses around the country. SLS organized more than sixty marches and demonstrations across the country on May 1, and publications as diverse as *Newsweek*, the *New York Times* and the socialist newsweekly, *In These Times*, have acknowledged the leadership of libertarians in the "New Resistance," as it has come to be called. So it is appropriate that the convention's panel on the draft was chaired by SLS's Tom Palmer. Milton Mueller explained the dynamics of the draft as an instrument of "social control," much as he has in SLS's excellent new issue booklet devoted to the topic, showing how in the 1960s, deferments were used as a means of "chanelling manpower" into desired areas. Then Ron Kovic made his second appearance of the day. Kovic told the audience that "In 1972, I was thrown out of the Republican National Convention for heckling during part of Nixon's acceptance speech. At the 1976 Democratic National Convention, I nominated a draft resister for vice-president before a national television audience of 40-million. But if you asked me which convention I enjoyed most, I'd say neither one—I enjoy this one the most. I may have been speaking to 40-million people before, but now I'm speaking to the future of America."

After the audience's applause died down, Kovic continued the theme he began in the morning. "I am here today to let the whole world know that no matter how small we are now, we will not stand for another holocaust like Vietnam. We will say, 'Never again.' The militarists in the Pentagon and elsewhere want you to shut up and be quiet so that they can do the same thing all over again," he declared. "They're going to use the media, and try to convince us that we have to do it all over again. But we know that the real enemy is in Washington, D.C., and not 13,000 miles away."

In response to audience questions, Tom Palmer reminded the delegates that the libertarian antidraft rallies across the country earlier this year had achieved only a "short-term tactical victory," and that "we have to keep building and be ready for them next time around."

If SLS's success in the antidraft movement bodes well for the future, not all successes are likely to be as smooth. And concern with growing success is what caused hundreds of people to pack popular speaker Nathaniel Branden's talk, billed as "The Coming Challenges of Libertarianism." Branden points out that it could as easily have been entitled "How Not to Self-Destruct at the First Signs of Success." After pointing out that "a lot of extraordinary people have combined their efforts to achieve an extraordinary result," in the swift rise and expansion of the Libertarian Party, he warned that this very same growth may be experienced as nervewracking by people who hadn't expected to succeed. Radical movements, he stated, attract people who experience themselves as outsiders.

"If I tell myself that being an individualist means not knowing how to function with other human beings, then I wake up one day and I find myself here"—he gestures, referring to the massive convention as a whole—"well, if that isn't cause for anxiety and disorientation, what the hell is?"

Expounding the principle that self-concept determines destiny, he warned that some libertarians might find, as the number of libertarians expands into the thousands, that their view of themselves as lonely martyrs might lead them to needing enemies *within* the Party. Such people might feel, he suggested, that "a week without secret meetings, private manipulations and people to curse is hardly a week worth living."

Branden stressed that he was not suggesting that these people were not intelligent or might not be making valuable contributions. Rather, he was saying that many of us never intended to be successful this soon, and might find it useful to admit to each other that the adventure that libertarians are embarking on can be bewildering and scary as well as exhilarating. "If we can talk about that honestly and as

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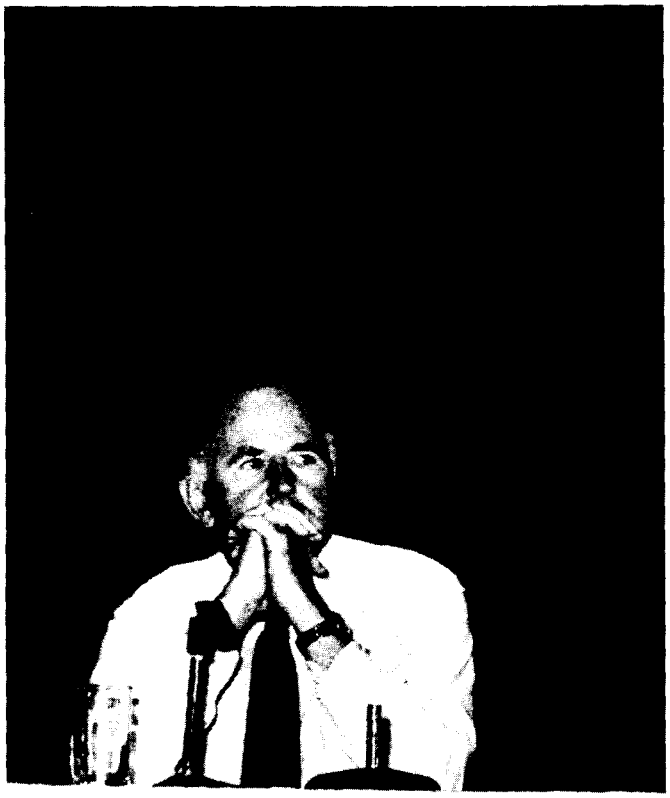
friends," he concluded, "I think then we have a chance to see some very, very exciting and dramatic developments happen in our own lifetime."

A large and enthusiastic audience punctuated his talk with rueful laughter as people seemingly "filled in the historical documentation" for themselves, which Branden had invited them to do.

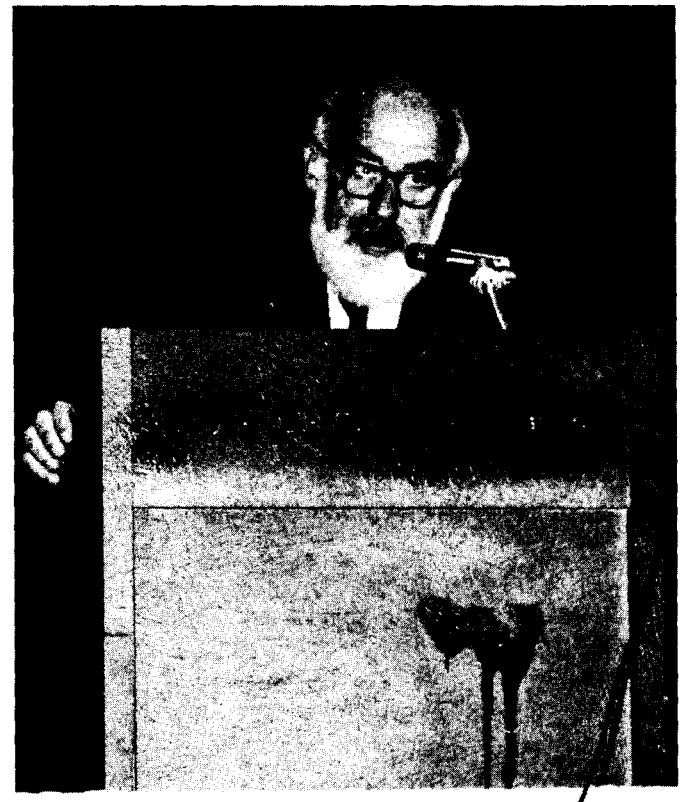
As Branden's talk, with extensive audience interaction, drew to a close, one of the convention's more controversial issues was explored in a debate over nuclear power. The heated controversy over nukes that has been brewing in nearly every libertarian publication in the past few months, was addressed in a formal debate between libertarians Leonard Sagan and John Gofman. Milton Mueller stepped aside as chairman of the panel—in favor of *Reason*'s Manny Klausner—because he could not be considered neutral on the subject. And Dr. Petr Beckmann declined the invitation to defend the pro-nuke side of the debate against Gofman—rumor had it that Beckmann felt the whole panel was a "set-up" designed to embarrass him, even though every step had been taken to insure a fair treatment of the subject. So Beckmann was replaced by Sagan.

The debate was an important one, because the whole question of nuclear power and the relationship of libertarians to the antinuclear movement had recently been forcefully raised in the libertarian movement. Although the issues had been addressed in the past, they had been addressed inadequately, at best. *Reason* had published some pro-nuclear power articles by Petr Beckmann, whose *The Health Hazards of Not Going Nuclear* has served as a veritable pro-nuke bible, as has Beckmann's popular periodical, *Access to Energy*. The only antinuclear article to appear in a libertarian publication in the past was by Patrick Lilly, in the pages of Murray Rothbard's *Libertarian Forum*. This year, everything changed, as SLS's Milton Mueller and *LR*'s Jeff Riggenbach began to explore the antinuclear power position from fresh perspectives. Mueller published a short article on "Nuclear Power: Child of the Corporate State" for SLS, and Riggenbach's report on Three Mile Island in the May issue of *LR* drew comment from libertarians and nonlibertarians alike. Then, in the special double issue of *The Libertarian Review* (July/August) devoted to "Energy and American Foreign Policy," there appeared no less than three articles critical of nuclear power in varying degrees. The issue drew a storm of protest, including a letter organized by *Inquiry*'s Williamson Evers and George H. Smith, critical of the issue, and signed by nineteen prominent libertarians. Students for a Libertarian Society also produced a tabloid on "Energy Fascism," distributed at antinuclear rallies, and made the antinuclear cause its own—with, appropriately, the libertarian twist of calling for a free market in energy. The LP convention's debate was scheduled badly, sandwiched between Branden's popular talk and an equally popular trip to Disneyland, but the hall contained an intense audience concerned with hearing the cases for and against nuclear power.

Dr. Leonard Sagan's credentials, in addition to M.D. and M.P.H. degrees from Harvard, include work for the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (which studies the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki). For the last two years, he has been investigating occupational health problems in the electrical power industry—and is currently following up the Three Mile Island incident. Gofman is one of the leaders of the antinuclear movement; he has studied the health effects of radiation for 15 years (half of that for the AEC, at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratories).



Dr. Leonard Sagan



NEIL HEILPERN

Dr. John Gofman

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Gofman began the debate. The question of whether or not a particular technological fact—whether the one on which nuclear power is based, or that of "*any other* energy source"—should become the basis for large-scale industrial development, he argued, is a decision which can be made properly "*only* in a free market, in a libertarian society operating under fundamental libertarian principles of the natural rights to life, liberty and property, where coercion, aggression, and force have no place whatever." Thus, if today's nuclear power industry had "developed as an energy source competing in a free market under libertarian legal principles, I would agree that it deserved every chance to demonstrate its desirability." But the industry is entirely a creature of the state, "created by a bureaucratic planning agency, the Atomic Energy Commission (now part of the Department of Energy), and profligately nurtured by its collectivist successors." Moreover, Gofman continued, the fact that radiation emissions standards have been established at all—that plants are *licensed* to emit radiation—"violates one's rights not to be aggressed upon. By what principle of liberty can it be condoned that radioactive pollutants can be dumped upon us, via air, water, or otherwise? No such principle of liberty exists."

Gofman related a further problem—the fact that cancers caused by radiation and other pollutants may take years—even decades—to appear. "Libertarians must come to grips with the fact that profound and irrevocable injury can be inflicted for years before the evidence will allow for proof. The libertarian goal must be to contain or detoxify pollutants adequately at their sites of origin—which is certainly possible in many cases—and to hold in abeyance those technologies—like nuclear power—where adequate containment or detoxification is *not* developed," he declared. "Libertarians must not assume that they are faced with an either-or choice—either the end of all industrial society, or defeating life-rights. Instead, libertarians must use their very good minds to make industrial progress *compatible* with the natural right to life."

Sagan began his opening remarks by questioning the actual harm brought about by radiation associated with nuclear power—comparing that radiation with the "natural" radiation which affects us all normally, as well as with radiation from other sources. Sagan recited the statistical commentary used by other proponents of nuclear power, such as Petr Beckmann: that radiation from nuclear plants is only a small fraction of that from natural sources, or that from living in a brick house versus living in a wooden house, or from living in Denver as opposed to San Francisco. Sagan did not claim, as some have, that there is a threshhold for radiation effects, but he also refused to accept the opposing view, that the mechanism is the same at low doses; instead, he preferred "something in between." As for subsidies, Sagan offered figures (developed by Pacific Northwest Laboratories) that indicate, over the past several years, the "total federal incentives" to nuclear power are slightly more than that given to natural gas, nearly double that for coal, and less than one-fifth of the subsidies to the oil industry.

Sagan finished his remarks with a warning about "the leaders of the antinuclear movement—I think you ought to know with whom you're getting in bed." After commenting on Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden, he observed that "many of the leaders, including Barry Commoner and Ralph Nader, are using this movement as a subterfuge to attack the corporate structure and the free-enterprise structure in this country."

Gofman took the mike again to reply. "As for nuclear power and free enterprise," he smiled, "these two things have never *seen* each other." Regarding subsidies, Gofman asserted that "the day after the Price-Anderson Act is repealed, the nuclear industry will no longer operate."

Sagan then attacked Gofman's cancer figures as "very much a minority view," and added: "We can't have zero pollution—it would be too expensive."

The rest of the discussion involved a variety of scientific, rather than political points. It seems doubtful whether either side made more than a handful of converts from this debate, but it is clear that a heated debate, not only on nuclear power but on all forms of pollution, will bedevil the LP for quite some time to come.

Friday, September 7

Friday morning's breakfast speaker—replacing the scheduled Robert Nozick—was *Inquiry*'s Senior Editor, Ralph Raico. After paying generous tribute to Nozick, Raico noted that Nozick wanted him to make it clear that he did not *necessarily* endorse everything Raico would say. Raico feigned puzzlement, then announced his topic—"the Zionist menace." The quip sent ripples of laughter through the audience, many of whom had heard Nozick's spirited defense of Zionism at the Boston LP convention the year before.

Raico's actual target was *National Review*'s recent, distorted attack on the libertarian movement. This and other calumnies, Raico asserted, are "one sign of the increasing visibility of the libertarian movement"—that we now "have enemies, enemies who think we are serious enough to attack ... To my mind, it's gratifying and clear that they're scared. What suddenly worries them [at *National Review*] is that libertarianism is beginning to exert a strong attraction on business people and young students who start out as conservatives."

After dissecting the fallacious arguments put forth by Bill Buckley's hired guns (that Thomas Szasz is "soft on communism," or that Murray Rothbard is an "apologist for Stalin," for example), Raico neatly summed up the current status of the conservative movement: "intellectually bankrupt and morally moribund."

As the debate on the platform began on the convention floor, two speeches by political veterans were also being heard: former Sen. Eugene McCarthy on the "Two Party Monopoly," and Washington political analyst and former McGovernite Alan Baron on "Political Trends in America."

McCarthy, the former hope of the Left and sometime libertarian fellow traveler, urged the delegates and visitors to focus on eliminating three particular federal regulatory bureaucracies: the Federal Elections Commission, the Department of Education, and the IRS. Taking on the Federal Elections Act and its bureaucratic spawn, McCarthy insisted that "the theory that the two party system is right should be challenged on every ground. The idea of the Constitution was that you should have a multiplicity of parties, if you have parties at all. In fact, John Adams said that the worst thing you could have would be control by just two political factions. And now, two centuries later, we are seeing that he is right." McCarthy accused the FEC of "restricting our freedom of choice to whatever the Democrats and Republicans offer us." He claimed that a third party was a vital necessity, and that the Libertarian Party, in his opinion, had the best chance to fill that important role.

Alan Baron continued the groundwork for "building a new consensus." In his political newsletter, the former

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McGovern advisor recently told subscribers that "if any trend in opinion is evident, it's toward libertarianism." Now he states that there is a trend—"if not toward libertarianism, at least toward classical liberalism." Although the left led the fight against Vietnam and Watergate, Baron pointed out, the lesson drawn by the electorate from those two crucial political events was not a "leftist" lesson, but rather the lesson of the venality of government involvement in all these areas, and the corruption wrought by excessive state power. Baron claimed that each government intervention sours more voters on the current system, and makes them more susceptible to the libertarian argument—it "leads to more and more skepticism from people about what government can do. You can use this skepticism along with an open political process to influence the direction this country will go." How can the LP attract minorities? Baron was asked. He answered that libertarians should try to form "a coalition of diverse groups who are victims of government"—a growing constituency. What about the fledgling Citizens Party, a left-wing Party being organized by people like Barry Commoner? Most liberal activists he's talked with, Baron explained, would rather join a Draft Kennedy movement. "I don't think a left-wing alternative will get many votes next year," he predicted.

Almost as if it were intended to concretize what Baron meant by "victims of government," the panel on "The Energy Crisis," chaired by University of Hartford Economist Dom Armentano, dissected the role of government in causing the energy crisis in ths country.

Economist James L. Johnston explained that the Carter Administration's actions in last summer's "gas crisis" were stressing "leadership," Clark "depth," and dark horse candidate Peter Larsen of Hawaii rose to make his opening remarks, just those that you would take if you *wanted* to cause a panic: mandate weekend closings, limit purchase below a certain dollar amount, prosecute (persecute) dealers who charge high prices, threaten the return of odd-even rationing, and dictate allocation priorities. And it's not that the government doesn't realize all this, Johnston added. He quoted Energy Czar James Schlesinger, now blessedly retired, who said in June: "Gas queues are a consequence of price controls, intensified by the system of allocations. Any system based upon past performance will result in misallocation because of demand shifts. There would be no lines if there were no price and allocation controls."

So how can Schlesinger go ahead and enforce such measures? Johnston quoted Schlesinger again, this time from an article in the October 1968 *Journal of Law and Economics:* "The tool of politics (which frequently becomes its objective) is to extract resources from the general taxpayer with minimum offense and to distribute the proceeds among innumerable claimants in such a way as to maximize support at the polls."

Emphasizing the Libertarian Party's commitment to broad values was David Nolan's talk on "A Marketing and Promotional Strategy for the 1980s," in which he proposed a "broad umbrella of Peace, Prosperity and Freedom" as the key. The "peace" element, according to Nolan, would include a noninterventionist foreign policy, firm opposition to the draft, and opposition to the "infamous SALT II treaty," which Nolan's favorite candidate for the LP's presidential nomination, Ed Clark, supports.

SALT II was one of the many topics discussed by the two major candidates, Clark and Hunscher, at the question-and-answer session which was scheduled for Friday afternoon. They both began with brief opening remarks, Hunscher

NEIL HEILPERN

Eugene McCarthy: "The theory that the two party system is right should be challenged on every ground."

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marks as well. Larsen's candidacy was an interesting one: he had one solitary issue which he wanted to raise with libertarians — their seeming support for a noninterventionist foreign policy. Larsen criticized noninterventionism and attempted to construct criteria which would bias the U.S. toward intervention in a great many areas of the world. Larsen opposed SALT II in passing, while Hunscher and Clark addressed it at greater length. Clark said that he was not uncritical of SALT II, and that it should be combined with unilateral American moves in the direction of noninterventionism. Clark said he supported the treaty because it "slows down the acceleration" of weapons growth. SALT II, he said, would pave the way for real arms reductions—SALT III—and while it might allow a five percent growth in armaments, without it there would be a twenty percent growth. Hunscher took a different view: "I am opposed to SALT II unequivocally," he said. "How can you justify by libertarian principles 67 people making a contract binding on 230-million?"

Both candidates warmly endorsed House Joint Resolution 23 (the Liberty Amendment), and were then asked what their response would be if a current ally — be it Israel, Taiwan or Korea—were attacked after we had pulled out our troops or halted military support. The "sole criterion" for action, avowed Hunscher, is whether the attack involved a "clear and present danger to the defense of the United States." Clark was more specific. "I would not intervene in the Middle East—I would not get involved in a war there. The same holds for the two Chinas—the Taiwanese are fully capable of defending themselves."

Then an Alaska delegate stepped to the mike. "I don't pay taxes and haven't for years. Will you come in and take my money from my bank account?" he asked. Hunscher replied that no, he would "find a Director of the IRS who will stop these gestapo tactics." But then Clark drew the loudest ovation of the session when he replied, "I would not let them do it," and concluded: "I would give amnesty to anyone in prison for any income tax violations." The crowd exploded in cheers.

After a few more questions, David Bergland called an end to the grilling, and the platform debate resumed. Next door, in the San Diego Ballroom, Walter Williams's talk on unemployment and minorities—which proved to be one of the convention's most popular talks — began, back-to-back with the Association of Libertarian Feminists panel, which has become something of a tradition at the LP's annual conventions. ALF has always been at pains to emphasize its differences with the LP, and some of the large crowd wondered if the panelists might take the occasion to criticise one or both of the candidates, as an editorial in the ALF newsletter did just before the convention. In that newsletter, four ALF officials denounced Clark and Hunscher for emphasizing their opposition to government-financed abortions, which emphasis they thought played into the hands of anti-choice forces.

But ALF National Coordinator Sharon Presley, one of the editorial's signers, spoke on the new anti-abortion drive, and did not mention Clark or Hunscher at all. Nor did San Francisco feminist and LP activist Christine Dorffi, who called for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The other two panelists were less controversial. Pat Scarlett substituted for ALF Vice President Lynn Kinsky on the topic of children's rights, and Janice Allen spoke in opposition to the drafting of women. The brief question period was devoted to abortion and the ERA, and was unfortunately monopolized by a few hostile people in the audience. But most of the audience seemed favorably impressed with the panelists' grasp of the issues, and followed them off to an impromptu discussion group at the end.

One of the most heavily attended talks during the convention was also one of the most important: Dr. Walter Williams speaking on "Government and Unemployment." Williams is a charismatic and engaging speaker who stresses two basic but often ignored economic truths: first, that discrimination (racial or otherwise) imposes additional costs on the one who discriminates, "unless backed by the power of the state;" and, second, that unemployment among minorities, particularly minority youth, is primarily caused not by discrimination, but by such restrictions on a free market in labor services as minimum wage and licensing laws.

Regarding the lower economic status of racial minorities in the United States, Williams declared that "there's not much evidence that racial animosity explains very much of their plight—but these problems are usually explained in these terms." Gentlemen's agreements—agreements not to sell to or hire blacks or others—"will always break down unless backed by the force of the state." The classic example, he related, is the case of a "conspiracy" not to sell one's home to blacks. "Let's say one person gets a job out of town, and let's say the average selling price of a house is $40,000. Say a black offers him $50,000. Now," Williams intoned slowly, leaning all of his 6'6" frame toward his audience, "that man has a difficult problem." Most people would scrap the agreement in favor of the $50,000 offer, because the cost of maintaining the antiblack agreement had suddenly become too high.

"People have the right to hate whomever they please," Williams asserted, "but they don't have the right to impose their hates on other people. I live in an otherwise all-white neighborhood," the Temple University economics professor explained. "And my neighbors have the right to get me out of the neighborhood — by offering me $400,000 for my house."

The free market, operating without interference, Williams contended, "imposes a high cost on certain kinds of preferences." Yet in this country, "we have many laws which lower the price for people to indulge some of their preferences — whether for racial discrimination, sexual discrimination, or whatever." What we have to do to understand the problems involved is to "look at the rules of the game" — especially laws that "restrict voluntary exchange and prohibit people from offering compensating differences."

This last phrase, Williams argued, is the key to the minority unemployment problem. Specifically, minimum wage laws deny minorities the opportunity of offering "compensating differences" by asking for lower wages because they may have less training and fewer skills. The $2.90 an hour minimum wage "systematically discriminates against anybody whose hourly output is only $2 an hour," Williams noted. "There is no economic incentive" for an employer to hire such a person. Naturally, the brunt of the burden is borne by the least skilled—the young—since they have the least to offer in any economic exchange, and most need the opportunity to offer "compensating differences."

Williams also reviewed a few figures which offer concrete confirmation of his theoretical points: Today, while unemployment among whites over 25 is only four percent, unemployment among white youths stands near 16 percent, and among minority youths at 40 percent (even higher if you

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include the uncounted thousands who have simply dropped out of the job market entirely because they have lost hope of finding a job). But in 1948, unemployment stood at only 9.8 percent among black youths—and at 10.2 percent among white teenagers. "Until 1954," added Williams, "black participation in the labor force was at a higher rate than that of white in *all* age groups. You can't explain this by saying that society has grown more discriminatory in the last 20 years." But you *can* associate the change with the increase in and increased coverage of the minimum wage—along with laws such as Medicare and food stamps, "which make unemployment attractive relative to employment."

So if "these laws have effects independent of their intentions and may harm the people they are supposed to help"—workers with low wages—who does in fact benefit from minimum wage laws? "Just ask who are the major supporters of minimum wage laws," Williams declared, and then answered his own question: labor organizations. "Whatever their intentions, the effect is to price their [low-skilled] competition out of the market. For if an employer has the choice of hiring one skilled [union] worker to do a job at $5.50 an hour, or two low-skilled workers at $2.50 an hour for the same job, he'll choose the latter option, because it costs him less. But raise the minimum wage to its current $2.90 level—and the low-skilled laborers have just been priced out of a job."

These economic effects of minimum wage laws, and laws demanding equal pay for equal work, are "so strong that they are the basis for apartheid in South Africa," Williams informed his listeners. And in South Africa, they don't cover up the truth with motherhood-and-apple-pie platitudes. "There," Williams continued, "they *say* they want these laws to protect white jobs" by bringing the economic cost of discrimination down to zero.

A further ploy that restricts economic freedoms—and which, in practice, hits hardest at minorities—is the licensing law. Williams offered taxi licensing as a prime example. With the cost of a taxi license at $65,000 in New York City, and $35,000-plus in other East Coast metropolises, the effect is simply to "reduce entry" and limit competition—to "protect the income of the incumbents." As a result, a flourishing gypsy cab industry has arisen in these cities, a veritable army of individuals making an "honest, albeit illegal, living." In New York, it has been estimated that the gypsy cab business may even be larger than the legal industry. "These people don't want a handout," Williams exclaimed. "They want the chance to enter the market and compete." But the exorbitant entry fee established and endorsed by the state keeps out those without capital—the low-income groups.

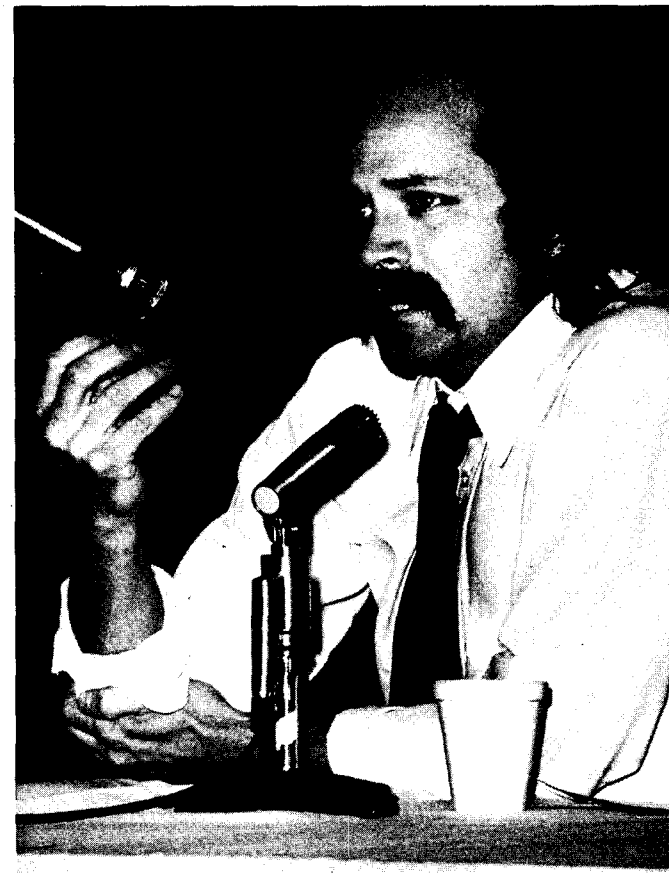
At the conclusion of his talk, Williams was surrounded by dozens of new-found fans questioning him further. With unemployment raging ever larger in importance in American society, particularly in the case of minorities, it is likely that the audience for Williams' controversial views will grow in the months and years to come. Already some liberal sacred cows have begun to fall from grace; Williams is helping to provoke a thorough rethinking of government policy, and is helping people to understand that here, as elsewhere, government is the enemy of the poor and the middle class alike.

Shortly after the end of Williams' lecture, the formal debate on the energy plank—this year's major platform battleground—got underway.

The touchstone for the debate was provided by SLS members Milton Mueller and Michael Lipson, who wrote a

JONNIE GILMAN

Economist Walter Williams: "The poor don't want a handout. They want a chance to enter the market and compete. But government keeps them out."



NEIL HEILPERN

War resister Ron Kovic: "This convention marks the beginning of a new movement in this country which will lead to a time when we have no Vietnams."

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completely new energy plank based on the extensive research they had done for *LR*'s special energy issue. The plank was longer, more comprehensive and more rhetorical than the existing plank, and contained a relatively long section on nuclear power which was anti-nuclear in tone.

Not surprisingly, the plank got caught in the crossfire of the movement's acrimonious debate over nuclear power. Both the convention issues of *Frontlines* and *The Libertarian Forum* contained strenuous attacks on the anti-nuclear libertarians by Murray Rothbard, who called them "enemies of technological advance." Rothbard and *Inquiry* editor Williamson Evers even made "Privatize Nuclear Power, Don't Shut It Down!" their campaign slogan for the National Committee elections. In return, *The Libertarian Review* distributed pre-publication copies of a letter critical of the July/August issue of *LR* signed by nineteen prominent libertarians, along with Milton Mueller's answer to it in his *Movement* column (entitled "The Nuclear Reactionaries"), as well as prepublication copies of *LR*'s October cover interview with John Gofman.

Rothbard and Evers have been the guiding lights of several successive platform committees, and this year was no exception. They succeeded in preventing any portion of the Mueller-Lipson plank from being inserted and also succeeded in passing their own amendment to the existing energy plank. Their amendment retained the already existing language about "privatization" of nuclear power, and called for repeal of Price-Anderson and abolition of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. It concluded by saying that "the nuclear power industry, like other industries, should be set free to meet the test of the free market." In their opinion, nuclear power is simply a valuable service, like roads and mail delivery, which the government has taken over, and they opposed singling it out as any more inherently statist or subsidized than coal or oil. "Superficially," said Rothbard, "privatization might not be as politically sexy as an all-out stand in favor of either subsidizing or shutting down nuclear firms. But it is the distinctively libertarian stand." The alternative plank, on the other hand, described nuclear power as "an industry wholly created, promoted and imposed by the federal government," and opposed any language about "privatization" as an unwarranted prediction that nuclear power would in fact survive in a free market. Its supporters raised the issue of radiation, asserting that *if* such radiation constituted aggression, it should be stopped. They also opposed the Rothbard-Evers amendment because it made no mention of significant federal subsidies to the industry, such as waste disposal subsidies and government-owned uranium enrichment plants.

The Evers-Rothbard amendment emerged from the platform committee victorious, but there were enough opponents (four) to file a "minority report." When a minority report is filed, there must be a vote on the convention floor to decide which version to consider.

For the floor debate, the SLS-affiliated group, led by Jeff Friedman, instead of attempting another sweeping rewrite of the entire energy plank, concentrated on eliminating what they saw as pro-nuclear language and adding some mention of various forms of government subsidies to nuclear power. Exuberant after the Thursday evening debate between Dr. Gofman and Dr. Sagan, they convened a strategy meeting to promote the minority report. Their lobbying—which even obtained the endorsement of John Hospers — was so successful that Evers and delegate Sheldon Richman, concerned with avoiding a lengthy and divisive floor fight, began to cooperate with the minority report group. They promised to support the amendment if it indicated in some way that the industry's assets should be turned over to private ownership. The two groups finally came to an acceptable method of calling for "privatization" without implying that nuclear power was a viable industry, to wit, adding from the floor the sentence, "Nuclear energy should be denationalized and the industry's assets transferred to the private sector." The stage was set; the rules would be suspended, the energy plank considered, the *minority* report accepted and then amended as suggested by Evers and Richman.

But nothing is ever simple within the LP. Most of the people on the floor had not been involved in all the behind-the-scenes maneuvering, and thus were unsure of what was going on. It took nearly an hour for a plank that both sides had previously agreed on to get passed; both the SLS faction and the Evers-Rothbard faction had to hold their breath the entire time, anxious that the delicate compromise might be wrecked by someone who didn't understand the background story. The final version of the paragraph dealing with nuclear energy read:

We oppose all direct and indirect government participation in the nuclear energy industry, including subsidies, research and development funds, guaranteed loans, waste disposal subsidies and federal uranium enrichment facilities. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission should be abolished; the imposition of full liability—not government agencies—should regulate nuclear power. The Price-Anderson Act, through which the government limits liability for nuclear accidents and furnishes partial payment at taxpayer expense, should be repealed. Nuclear energy should be denationalized and the industry's assets transferred to the private sector. Any nuclear power industry must meet the test of a free market.

The nuclear power debate spilled over into another controversial area: pollution. When SLS Eastern Director Tom Palmer proposed adding the word "radiation" to the list of pollutants, Evers attempted to amend it to "high-level" radiation—a deliberate slap in the face to Gofman and his supporters, who believe that low-level radiation causes cancer, too. Evers and Rothbard were alone on that issue; their amendment failed. Opponents of their point of view then engineered an attempt to strike a part of the pollution plank which they saw as an unfortunate holdover from Randian, "bow-down-to-sooty-smokestack" days. The platform said that even though pollution violates the rights to life and property, "we strenuously oppose any effort to transform the defense of such rights into efforts to restrict production and impede the advance of technology. ..." Many people saw this as an irrational statement which implied that the LP believes industrial progress to take precedence over individual rights. Their effort to strike this, however, was voted down.

The committee's most controversial change in the pollution plank was a proposal by Murray Rothbard to add a statement that harm done by pollutants must be proven "beyond a reasonable doubt." This sounded reasonable at first, and passed by a large margin. Yet opponents pointed out, first, that only *criminal* cases, not civil damage suits, currently require the "reasonable doubt" standard, and, secondly, that *no one* can prove beyond a reasonable doubt just what the source of *any* cancer is, because cancers may develop several years after they are caused, and when they do appear, they don't carry little flags telling us where they came from. This raised enough serious doubts among platform committee members for another minority report to be filed.

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But the convention never got to the pollution plank at all —which means the platform remains unchanged from its 1977 form. A proposal to oppose SALT II, put forth by David Nolan, also was buried in the vast pile of things left undone due to a lack of time. Some delegates expected a heated debate over abortion and the ERA, but despite a lot of outside testimony before the committee on these issues, nothing happened. Most of the other changes consisted of updates focusing on the latest incursions by the state on personal freedom.

The panel on "Futurism and the Free Society" was a late addition to the stellar lineup of panels and events on Friday, but it proved to be a popular one. A special feature of this session was the presentation of the Prometheus Award, for the best libertarian speculative fiction novel of the year. Novelist Robert Anton Wilson announced that F. Paul Wilson was the winner of $2500 in gold for his novel *Wheels Within Wheels*. It was obviously a popular choice; the audience of nearly 300 gave Wilson a rousing ovation.

There had been some controversy over this panel during the past several months, and several prominent libertarians —Murray Rothbard and Bill Evers, most prominently of all —opposed its inclusion at the convention on the grounds that while futurism may well be a valid concern for libertarians — or social democrats, or communists, or corporate fascists, for that matter— it had no place at a function of a libertarian *political party*.

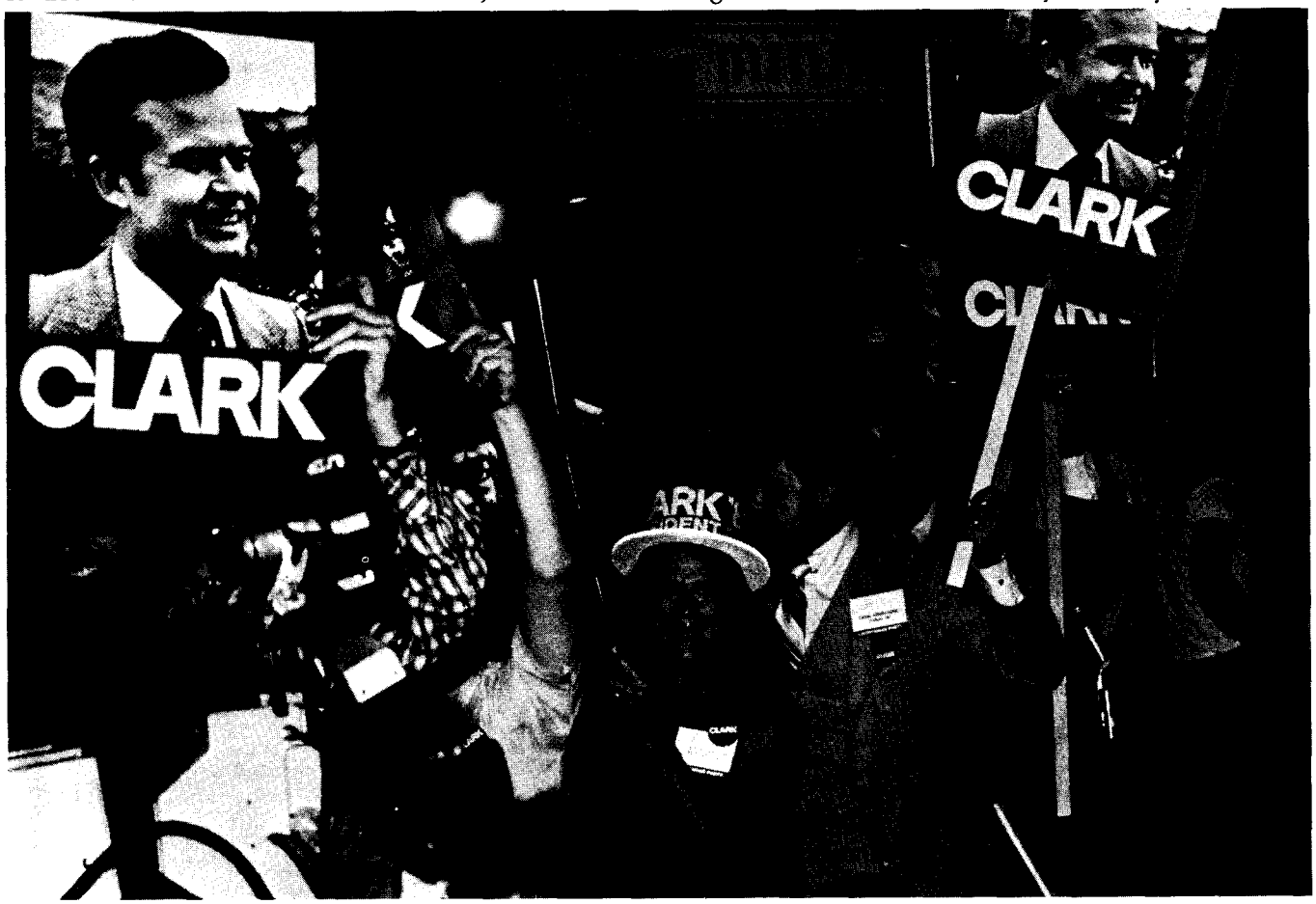
It was fitting, therefore, that moderator Bob Poole should begin the session with his views on why LP members should be interested in the subject.

Futurism is not prediction, he emphasized, but instead looks at many *possible* futures. Poole offered three reasons for libertarian involvement in futurism. First, "so we can be in the lead in reaction to change." He offered as current examples of areas where futurist analysis would be of value the "moon treaty" that has been submitted to the U.N. General Assembly, and which would bar private ownership of land or mineral rights on extraterrestrial bodies; and communication deregulation, where a "better case" could be made for the libertarian view by "looking forward" to incipient technological developments which could make the electromagnetic spectrum an unlimited, rather than a limited, resource. Such an approach would offer the LP a "comparative advantage by being on top of the issues" as they arise.

Poole's second point was "motivational." In order to hasten the spread of libertarianism, "I think it is very important that we be able to give the average person in the United States a vision of what *could* be in this country, in a libertarian society. We have to make liberty *real* to people."

Finally, Poole noted that "there is a thriving futurism industry in the United States"—primarily at state-sponsored or state-funded think-tanks—"and libertarian ideas are almost completely absent." This little-known "industry" has great impact, he explained, because it provides the options that politicians look at when they make their choices. "With libertarianism involved in futurism" we could have a much stronger impact on shaping future public policy.

The most intriguing of the panelists was Joseph Martino, who teaches technological forecasting at the University of Dayton. Martino asserted that one of the principal forces shaping any society is its image of the future. "Where are the libertarian images of the future?" he asked. "Why have the collectivists been able to get away with projecting false images of a libertarian future? Why have they been able to



NEIL HEILPERN

"As the convention drew to a close, the attention of the assembled libertarians turned to the future."

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give freedom a bad name?" Martino answered that it is because libertarians have not projected attractive images of the future to counter the collectivist images and "attract more people to liberty."

There were two major parties scheduled for the evening—the Celebrity Cocktail Party, followed by the Three Party Party—and at least a half-dozen smaller events secreted throughout the upper recesses of the Bonaventure's shining cylinders.

The hall where the breakfasts had been held each morning was transformed. Separated by partitions, we were now confronted with several rooms—each with at least one open bar, each with waiters carrying trays of hors d'oeuvres, each with its own entertainment: a magician who put on a show every half-hour, a Latin song-and-dance group, minstrels with banjos, country singers, and a scene from Rick's Cafe Americain in "Casablanca," only this time Rick sang along with Sam, in a fairly decent Bogart imitation.

Drinks flowed, music flowed, conversations flowed, and so did the hundreds of libertarians who had shown up to celebrate. The magician drew a continuous crowd around his table, performing some fine sleight-of-hand tricks with cards, cups, coins, and assorted other items. Despite his skill, he declined a request to make the government disappear as well.

A little after 9 p.m., one more level of the Bonaventure's maze mounted, was the "Three Party Party." This one was outside, around the hotel pool, and the disco music and flashing lights made the whole crowd seem like a single moving tide.

Saturday, September 9

As Saturday dawned, the delegates awoke to the real business of the convention—the nomination and selection of the presidential candidate of the Libertarian Party, the man who would carry the banner of liberty into the 1980 campaign.

As chairman Dave Bergland explained the voting procedure—alphabetical by state, with a random draw for which state would start things off—the already omnipresent Clark and Hunscher posters suddenly sprang up everywhere.

First came the nomination of the one dark horse candidate, Peter Larsen of Hawaii, who was running to emphasize his belief that the LP platform should have a much "stronger" defense plank. Larsen's candidacy was a welcome one to many in the Party, for here was a clear test, once and for all, of the rank and file's attitude toward a strictly noninterventionist foreign policy—which both Ed Clark and Bill Hunscher support. Larsen made opposition to such a policy the *sole* basis of his campaign. Then Mike Rosell, who drew 22 percent of the vote in his race for the Hawaii State Board of Education last year, mounted the podium to offer in nomination the name of "our very first libertarian legislator, Dick Randolph." The seven-piece band sitting to one side of the room broke into a spirited rendition of "This Land is Your Land," and after two seconding speeches, Randolph took the mike to decline the nomination. "We already have two great candidates. The Alaska delegation pledges our full support to whichever of the two men becomes the nominee," he continued. "We have to assure by November 1980 the creation of a three party system. I say freedom is the issue and let's make freedom reign across America, and God bless you."

Next was David Nolan, LP founder, to nominate Ed Clark, "a candidate who has credibility. He has the ability to present the libertarian viewpoint cleary, succinctly, and compellingly. He is a man whom the voters and the media will take seriously. He is a man who makes sense." Noting Clark's 5.5 percent of the vote in California last year, Nolan concluded that "with Ed Clark as our standardbearer, we can achieve the same success nationwide in 1980—and bring about a three party system!"

With a roar, hundreds of delegates leaped from their seats, and as the band blared out "California Here I Come," began a noisy, weaving march around the floor—a forest of Clark posters snaked its way around the room. Then, slowly, the excitement subsided, and the seconding speeches began. Helen Stevens of Arizona—a Hunscher stronghold—seconded the nomination: "Ed knows each issue in depth, backwards and forwards, and can relate his argument to whatever group he is talking to. Ed Clark has the depth, experience, style, class and credibility to make the libertarian approach understood. I am pleased to second the nomination of an eminently reasonable radical, Ed Clark." Dallas Cooley of Virginia, head of the Libertarian Health Association, offered the other seconding speech, proclaiming that "Ed Clark is the candidate who can break us free from the *traditional* third party mold once and for all." Cooley's seconding speech came as another surprise to some Hunscher supporters — Cooley had remained neutral throughout the race and there were rumors that he had talked to top Hunscher supporters only the day before, about their desire to have him second Hunscher. But Cooley ended up firmly in the Clark camp, an early indication that Hunscher's support was perhaps slipping.

To a standing ovation, the LP's 1976 standardbearer, Roger MacBride, then stepped on stage to nominate the man who had had his support from the outset, Bill Hunscher. Hunscher, MacBride asserted,"is a man who does not have a single bone his body that is not libertarian ..., able to campaign tirelessly for the party." He echoed Hunscher's assertion that only a fulltime candidacy would be good enough, and added, "Any less and our party will shrink back to the size it was when the whole libertarian movement could meet in Murray Rothbard's living room."

And so began another boisterous, sign-waving, snaking demonstration, smaller in number, but even more enthusiastic than the Clark demonstration. The seconding speeches continued with the same theme — that only a fulltime campaign would suffice.

David Bergland then took the mike to announce that there were 579 eligible votes to be cast, with 290 needed to nominate. Bergland asked each state chairman to poll his delegates and then bring up to the podium a written tabulation of the vote, before the roll call began.

While these clerical chores were being performed, both Clark and Hunscher appeared briefly on the floor, to the joyful cheers of their respective supporters. On the message screen at the front of the hall the valid choices appeared: Clark, Hunscher, Larsen, None of the Above, and Abstain. If the Republicans or Democrats had ever offered the "none of the above" option, it's doubtful that *anyone* would have been nominated at some of their quadrennial sideshows. Meanwhile, as the band played "Satin Doll," "The Impossible Dream"—no longer an accurate choice—and other tunes, two couples began dancing, each of the foursome holding a placard consisting of a Clark poster and a Hunscher poster mounted back-to-back, as they danced. Now *there* was a display of party unity.

Finally, Bergland announced which state was to com-

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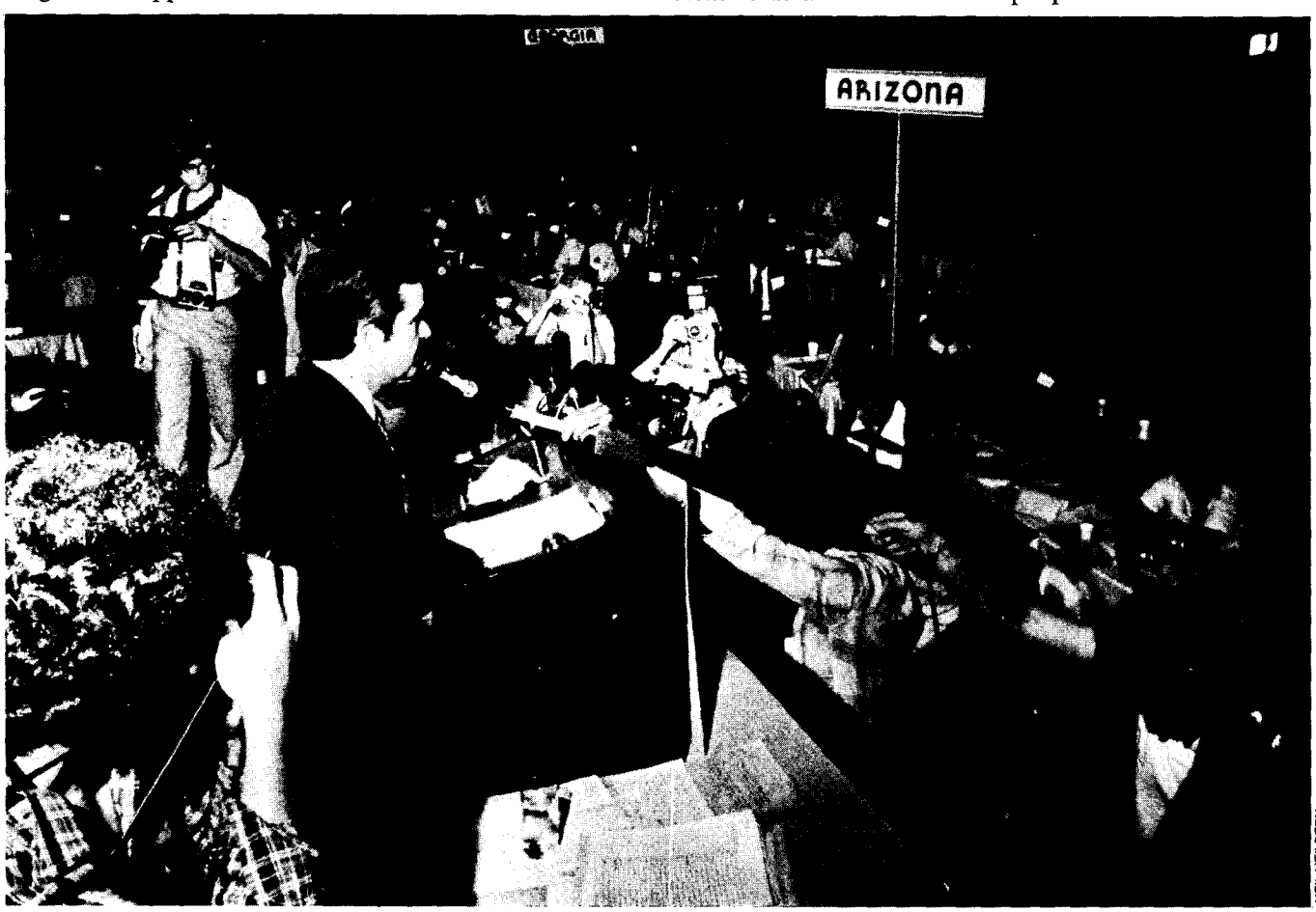
mence the roll call: "Will Nevada please be the first to reveal its hole card?" Nevada was supposed to be strongly in the Hunscher camp, yet the balloting split down the middle: nine for Clark, nine for Hunscher, one for Larsen. New Hampshire voted heavily for its native son, Hunscher, but soon the tide began to shift behind Clark. As Vermont's one delegate announced his support for Clark, he also announced, "Vermont, the principal supplier of monument granite in this country, stands ready to supply the tombstone materials for the death of the two party system." The offer was graciously accepted by Arizona, whose chairman proposed the Grand Canyon as "the future burial ground of the Republican and Democratic Parties." Then the various delegations began vying with each other for the best punch lines. Wisconsin declared that "there is no such thing as a free state." Alaska, echoing the legend on its delegates' omnipresent blue-and-white T-shirts, announced that it is the "land of the individual and other endangered species"; California declared itself the "home of the tax revolt," and cast a surprisingly large number of votes for Hunscher—but fewer than Hunscher supporters had hoped for. Colorado was proud to be "the birthplace of the LP, the former home of the Freedom School, and the location of Galt's Gulch." The Georgia chairman was more subdued, because he felt he "must firmly apologize to this assembly for producing Jimmy Carter." Louisiana became "the southern capital of political corruption," in the time-honored tradition of Huey Long and Moon Landreaux. The loudest cheers went for Montana, however, "the only state whose congressional delegation voted against U.S. participation in both World War I and World War II."

The pleasant one-upmanship was interrupted as Jay Hilgartner stepped forward to cast D.C.'s votes—the three votes that put Clark over the magic 290 mark. Another raucous demonstration erupted, and the floor became a sea of green-and-white Clark posters. The Hunscher supporters, with their yellow-and-black T-shirts and buttons and their brown-and-tan posters, were dejected. Then the balloting resumed with Florida, and after the party secretary tabulated the official votes, Bergland announced the final total: Clark 365, Hunscher 195, Larsen 7—indicating slim support for an interventionist foreign policy—None of the Above 6, and three abstentions. Suddenly, a commotion erupted again, this time in the back of the hall: the appearance of Ed Clark. Led by Dave Nolan and accompanied by his wife Alicia—whom Clark has called his "secret weapon"—the LP's nominee waded through the crowded floor, waving and shaking hands in his procession to the podium. TV camera lights glared out across the hall, and down from the ceiling fell blue-and-white balloons, while Clark stepped to the mike to deliver his acceptance speech.

"I wish that the American people could actually see this convention," he began. "I only wish the American people were in a position to compare *our* convention and the caliber of the members of our party, with what they'll see next summer in New York and Detroit. ... Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, we don't want to live at the expense of the people." Amidst the cheers, Clark delineated the major themes of the coming campaign, observing that the political mood of the country is propitious for libertarians. "For all Americans, but especially for younger ones," he said, "the spell of government has been broken," adding that what he would propose in his campaign would be "a system that is as good, and decent, and honest, and creative as are the American people. The name of that



"The libertarians are on the move, and the media and public alike seem to be aware of that indisputable fact."

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system is freedom." In concluding his speech, Clark reminded the delegates that the LP "has never been a party of personalities. It has been and is a party of principles and ideals. So what you will be doing won't be for me. It will be for the principles you hold, for what you love, and for those you love. As a certain novelist once put it, it will be in the name of the best within you."

As the band serenaded them with the "Rocky" theme, the Clarks left the hall, surrounded by a knot of reporters, cameras rolling away, and accompanied by a steady volley of cheers and wildly waving Clark for President posters.

Soon it would be time for the nominations and selection of the vice presidential candidate. On the convention floor, Chairman Bergland soon announced the names of the four people whose names would be offered for the vice presidential nomination: Robert Bakhaus of Texas, a former aide to Louisiana Democrat Woody Jenkins and associate of Texas Republican Representative Ron Paul; Bruce Cameron of Arizona—Hunscher's running mate—who had promised not to accept the nomination if Hunscher did not win the top spot on the ticket; Bill "Tycoon" Greene; and Clark's choice, David Koch.

But before the delegates began voting, Cameron was recognized by the chair, took the mike, and asked the crowd, "Anybody up here have a Clark button?" As the delegates cheered their approval, he took a button thrust at him from the floor and stuck it in his lapel. But he was sticking to his promise. "I release my delegates," Cameron announced. "I would ask you all to support Ed Clark and the man he wants as vice-presidential candidate."

The nomination procedure for both Bakhaus and Greene got tangled up in efforts by both candidates to speak directly to the delegates. Bakhaus was the first to succeed, giving his own seconding speech, and was followed by Greene. Then came the nomination which was the most controversial: David Koch. The nomination was made by Dick Randolph, and seconded by Gary Greenberg and Roy Childs.

Greenberg, who polled nearly 20,000 votes for governor of New York last year, offered up a classic example of rabble-rousing oratory. "We are at war with the oppressive American state, and we have to learn to marshal our resources as best we can," he exhorted his audience. "I want to see a grass roots organization that will bring the state down to its knees as soon as possible. I want to open the libertarian movement to all libertarians—and that includes rich libertarians." The controversy surrounding the Koch candidacy had arisen because its sole rationale, as Koch himself had candidly acknowledged in a letter to all delegates offering his candidacy, was to enable the wealthy New Yorker to contribute heavily to the campaign. So Greenberg faced the issue squarely, and with a master's touch, selected this most opportune moment to announce that Koch has actually named a starting figure for the campaign, nailing down his unspecific pledge: half a million dollars, and a promise to "go on from there if things go well." A few startled gasps were instantly submerged by whoops of joy and approval, as Greenberg stepped down, to be replaced by Childs. Childs began by offering thanks to the defeated Bill Hunscher: "As libertarians, we believe in paying our debts, and we owe that man a hell of a debt." The crowd responded by rising to its feet, giving Hunscher a standing ovation. Then Childs slapped down the "buy the party" smear by proclaiming that "we are no longer at the stage where the movement can be 'bought.' And certainly Ed Clark can't be bought." He ended with a typical closing "The government says we can't spend our own money defending our own rights. Well, I say nuts to that, and so does David Koch. Let's get to work!"

The balloting ran quickly and smoothly, and the final tally is one that could only have occurred at a libertarian gathering: Koch was the easy victor, with 421 votes; number two was None of the Above, with 62 supporters. Trailing were Bakhaus (39), Greene (5), and Cameron, who received 8 votes despite dropping out; there were 16 abstentions.

The San Francisco Ballroom was filled with a sudden din as Koch entered to accept the nomination. He began by telling the audience, "I feel if I practiced I'm liable to become a politician, and I have a lot of mixed feelings about that. So my speech today will be like my candidacy—short but valuable." He praised the LP members for doing "an incredibly good job of bringing the LP from the brink of obscurity to today where we represent the best hope for freedom since the American revolution. With Ed Clark as our standardbearer the two party system is in grave danger." Urging everyone to help make the LP a "force that will roll back the coercive force of government," he raised his right hand in a fist and linked hands with Ed Clark, as the room erupted with cheers and waving signs.

Koch held a news conference shortly afterward. The 39-year-old, 6'5" bachelor filled in his libertarian background—beginning in 1965 when he attended Robert LeFevre's Freedom School in Colorado. Prior to that time, he had been a—shudder—Republican. "I've not been active myself," he readily points out, "but I have made substantial contributions to libertarian organizations." Asked whether it would be fair to label him a "multimillionaire," he smiled and replied, "I'm a hard-pressed businessman—put it that way." As for his half-million dollar contribution to the campaign, Koch reaffirmed the pledge he first made to a caucus of the New York delegation, and added that "if the campaign is well run, and gets good attention, and is making an impression on the American people, I will increase it." He refused to be pinned down on what a maximum amount might be.

As the questions continued, Koch relaxed and seemed more at ease. When the point about using his large donation to "pull strings" within the Libertarian Party emerged, he leaned back, laughed softly, and added, "I don't think you can pull the strings on libertarians. They're the most independent bunch of people I've ever met."

As Saturday evening approached, an air of celebration surrounded the Bonaventure, with the nearing of the gigantic, gala banquet. The bars set up before the banquet room were flooded with hundreds upon hundreds of people excitedly talking about the events of the past few days. At the banquet itself, more than 1500 libertarians filled a room of more than 150 tables, dancing to music played by a small band, waiting to hear from the guests of honor. At the head table were seated Ed and Alicia Clark, David Koch, National Chairman Dave Bergland, LP Executive Director Chris Hocker, MC Orson Bean, Nathaniel Branden and his wife Devers, and banquet speaker Robert Ringer, whose latest book, *Restoring The American Dream,* had already hit the bestseller lists by the time of the convention.

Orson Bean began by reminiscing about the road he had traveled to libertarianism—from the primary school he and his wife founded in Manhattan, adhering strictly to libertarian principles. The festivities were punctuated with prizes for various raffles held throughout the hotel—Justin Raimondo of the LP Radical Caucus won an ounce of gold—and by fundraising appeals. Chris Hocker announced a

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goal of $50,000 in contributions and pledges for the evening.

Then, to a surge of applause, Ringer stepped up to deliver his speech. Once opposed to political action, he explained why he has since shifted gears. Before, he and many others were content to try to "find freedom in an unfree world"—to borrow another author's title. Now, however, Ringer has reached the conclusion that the passive approach "doesn't work anymore, because you can't do it. Government won't let you." No matter how a person tries to accomplish this, "whether he likes it or not, government is going to stifle him at every turn." Next, Ringer turned to some of the chief problems facing the Libertarian Party. He referred to the ill-conceived notion often flung at libertarians, that "you don't care what happens to the poor and the sick." Ringer's advice to libertarians faced with this challenge was to "learn to look the other person in the eye and tell them, 'On the contrary, I do care about the sick and the hungry. But our present system is leading to economic collapse. And can you tell me how this economic collapse can possibly help the poor?'"

As the applause for Ringer ended, Orson Bean brought the crowd to its feet by presenting the newly-chosen presidential nominee, Ed Clark. Clark promised to "carry the libertarian message to every voter in the land—and even some nonvoters." Thanking Bill Hunscher for his yeoman efforts, he turned, in rapid-fire fashion, to the issues he is going to raise in the campaign: "the most massive tax cuts in American history," and his program for tax credits for private, nongovernmental education. "We're also going to be the antidraft party," he added to ringing applause, calling Representative Pete McCloskey's proposal for universal government service for all 19-year-olds "the ultimate in victimless crime. The crime is being 18 years old; the penalty is two years at hard labor." Once more, the room rose to cheer, and as Clark and Koch raised their arms to salute the crowd, the din almost drowned out the band playing the theme from "Rocky" one last time.

The final surprise of the evening came from Chris Hocker: strolling casually to the red barometer which had been recording the contributions as they mounted toward the $50,000 goal, he announced, "You may wonder why this hasn't moved from the $30,000 mark for a while. Well, it's because we've reached it the *second* time around." The final total for the evening was $87,000.

Sunday, September 9

Sunday was the final day of this mammoth convention, a day devoted to some of the most interesting talks and topics,to further platform debate, and to the nomination an selection of the new officers of the Libertarian Party, including the National Committee.

Ron Paul, Republican member from Texas in the House of Representatives, kicked off the day with a breakfast talk on the Kennedy and Carter health plans. Steve Chapman then gave a biting indictment of John Connally, the "tribune of the Corporate State." Chapman, the staff writer for the *New Republic* whose articles have also appeared in *Harper's, The Washington Monthly, Inquiry,* and many other publications, has emerged during the past two years as one of today's finest and most innovative young writers, and libertarians ought to keep their eye on him, particularly on his contributions to the *New Republic.*

The turnout was better for Peter Breggin's speech on "Communicating with Liberals." The *LR* contributing editor discussed why liberals won't see that their own programs are doomed to failure, even in the face of the strongest evidence, and stressed what libertarians must do to overcome this obstacle. He was in fine form, receiving a standing ovation from a convention-weary crowd, as he explained why libertarians should stress how they are the "party of good intentions." "Libertarians need not be ashamed of their intentions toward the poor," he stressed. "The poor need *freedom* — freedom from government control. We are the only party which holds out any *hope* for the poor."

Following Breggin, *LR* executive editor Jeff Riggenbach reiterated a theme he had first presented in his highly acclaimed article "In Praise of Decadence" in the February issue of *The Libertarian Review,* speaking on "what the Sixties Promise for the Eighties." Two dozen enthusiastic fans followed Riggenbach off for more than two solid hours of discussion afterward.

During the afternoon on Sunday, the last major nominations and elections were to occur: those for the major offices of the LP, and for National Committee, both at-large and regionally. David Bergland was re-elected National Chairman by acclamation; Mary Louise Hanson was re-elected Vice Chair; Sylvia Sanders was re-elected Secretary; and Libertarian Health Association head Dallas Cooley was elected as Treasurer.

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The votes for National Committee resulted in some surprises, most notably the defeat of both Murray Rothbard and Bill Evers, both of whom had campaigned vigorously for election and had been prominent in a number of controversies in the libertarian movement over the past two years.Well in the lead for election to the National Committee was former National Chair Ed Crane, who had borne the major responsibility for the convention. Also elected to the National Committee at large were Fred Esser, William J. Howell, Michael Emerling, Sarah Baase, Dick Randolph, and David Nolan. Then, as 4 p.m. rolled around, the weary delegates and alternates adjourned the convention, and headed off to their home states to begin the long and arduous process of preparing for the campaigns and ballot drives ahead.

As the convention drew to a close, the attention of the assembled libertarians turned to the future. 1980, it has been universally agreed, is a key year for the Libertarian Party, the year when it will attempt on a serious, professional, nationwide basis to break away from the stagnant route which most third parties have taken in recent years. Presidential candidate Ed Clark has predicted that the LP will receive several million votes in 1980, and the hopes are that this breakthrough will lead to bigger triumphs in years to come. For without charismatic leaders, with virtually no money, and with a Federal Election Commission limiting even the paltry amount which libertarians have been able to raise for their campaigns, the fact is that the LP is being taken seriously by an increasing number of Americans who are disgusted and disillusioned by the status quo. In 1972, the fledgling LP collected fewer than ten thousand votes for its Presidential candidate; in 1976, after an exciting whirlwind race by Roger MacBride, that had increased to nearly two hundred thousand votes, placing the Libertari-

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ans well in the lead of other third parties. In 1978, in an off-year election (when minor parties usually lose status), the LP grew further, collecting more than one and a quarter million votes across the United States.

The libertarians are on the move, and the media and public alike seem to be aware of that indisputable fact. Peter Collier, discussing the libertarians in a recent issue of *New West*, surveyed the issues they were addressing, the constituency to which they were beginning to appeal, and suggested that "this could be the tip of a very large political iceberg." Media coverage of the convention struggled to play down the importance of what was happening, with thousands of people of diverse backgrounds and lifestyles and ages flowing into Los Angeles from all parts of the country, to unite in opposition to government power in all areas, but even the reporters at the convention seemed to be aware that this was the beginning of something unusual and important. Convention coverage surged to the front page of *The Los Angeles Times*, but the *Times* was not alone in its serious interest: scores of other media followed suit, and *The New York Times* carried a prominent article on the nomination of Ed Clark, entitled "Libertarians, Foes of Big Government, Nominate Coast Lawyer for President." Reporting on the convention, the *Times* noted that "the party's faithful include lawyers, philosophers, insurance salesmen, computer engineers and advertising people, spanning the ideological spectrum from New Left remnants to the far right of the Liberty League. About one-third of the party's following is on college campuses, and it has a big contingent from the feminist movement. The common bond is antipathy to big government."

But that was not the only common bond at this year's Libertarian Party convention. *Newsweek* picked up another, in an article entitled "Third Parties: Politics of Hope." That is really the reason more than two thousand Americans gathered in Los Angeles in convention this year: hope. It is the earnest conviction that the times are changing, and that liberty has come of age. Fired by a passion for justice and individual liberty, the libertarians scattered back across the country, from whence they had come, to begin the work which they hoped would end in the achievement of freedom in our time. ❑

Marshall E. Schwartz is a Contributing Editor of *LR*.

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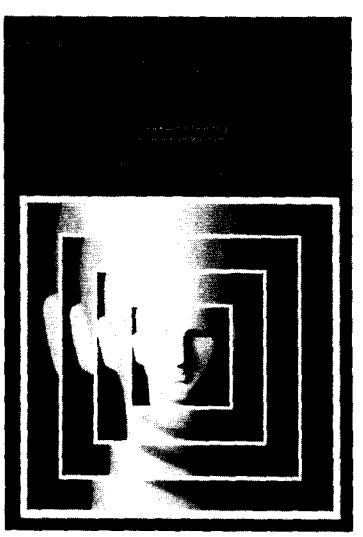

The Politicization of Society

Edited by Kenneth S. Templeton, Jr.

"The state has increasingly replaced the church in determining how we should behave," writes Oxford professor R. M. Hartwell in his introduction. "Politics is now religion." Fourteen scholars examine the central problem of modern society—the growth of the state—and its significance for the individual. They are Robert L. Carneiro, Felix Morley, Murray N. Rothbard, William Marina, Robert A. Nisbet, Jacques Ellul, Giovanni Sartori, Michael Oakeshott, Donald M. Dozer, Herbert Butterfield, John A. Lukacs, Jonathan R. T. Hughes, Butler D. Shaffer, and F. A. Hayek. Hardcover $10.00, Paperback $4.50.

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FREEING UP

In Accepta Libertarian Presi

ED CLARK

I wish that the American people could actually see this Convention. I wish they had been able to experience what it's like for two thousand Libertarians to come together—to think, to talk, to listen, to hammer out our platform, to decide on our future course, and to act on that decision. I wish the American people were in a position to compare our Convention, and the caliber of the members of our Party, with what they'll see next summer, in New York and Detroit, when the two other parties meet.

Why have we Libertarians come together in Los Angeles? Why have we come hundreds and thousands of miles, each at his or her own expense? Why? Well, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, it's not for the sake of special favors and privileges. None of us wants a subsidy, or a tariff, or a bailout, or a government job. Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, we don't want to live from politics; we don't want to live at the expense of other people. What brings us to Los Angeles, in this largest Libertarian gathering yet, is our principles. We have something to say to America.

From now until November 1980, there will be great issues debated, great battles fought. There is the issue of inflation, whose human costs are by now apparent to everyone. You know, they thought it would never happen, these people in Washington who have been happily inflating the money supply for decades. They actually thought they could go on forever, creating deficits, depreciating the dollar, that tomorrow would never come. Well, tomorrow has come, and the bill is now due. The American people are aroused. Inflation is no longer an abstraction for them. It's an everyday bitter

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experience. And they are determined not to permit their hopes for the future, and the futures of their children, to be destroyed by the inflation-junkies of both major parties.

There is the question of the draft, which once again has become a live issue. The men who control American foreign policy think that by starting with Selective Service registration they can sneak the draft back in. But there's something they should know, for their own good. If they thought they had troubles, if they thought they had a fight on their hands back in the sixties over the draft, I can only say this: Wait until you see what Libertarians will do to any proposal to reintroduce the draft in America. You haven't seen *anything* yet!

There is the question of the continuing harassment and persecution of people for their own peaceful lifestyles, including the continued crusade against drugs, the New Prohibition. Back in the days of the Old Prohibition, when America was being torn apart by the fanatical crusade against alcohol, both of the major political parties were too frightened and too cowardly to tell the truth. Today, again, they are too frightened and too cowardly to tell the truth about our vicious and destructive drug laws. But I will tell the truth in this campaign—that it is time to realize that regulation over our personal lives creates crime, and creates human suffering, which can only be relieved by the elimination of this entire group of laws.

And there is the issue of energy, of the attempt to impose on the American people what has correctly been called "energy fascism." If those in Washington actually *wanted* to destroy what is left of our free market system, the two-point program for doing so would be first to create double-digit inflation and then to impose government control over our energy industries. This two-point program is exactly what is happening today. I've said I will emphasize the issue of inflation. Equally important is the issue of energy, and we will propose radical, free-market alternatives to these problems.

And then there's the issue of taxes. This is the one that has the other two parties really scared. Taxes, after all, are their life-blood; taxes fuel their machine. And taxes have now become not only a burden, but a blight. We are sick of them, sick unto death. We are ready to have a very big Tea Party—and not just in Boston this time, but all the way from Boston to Miami to Seattle to San Diego. This scares the Democrats and Republicans—understandably so, since those gentlemen live by taxes. But the Libertarians are the Tax Revolt Party. What I will propose is a massive tax cut program which will make so much sense to the American people that the other candidates will have to start discussing our issue.

We are the Tax Revolt Party, and we are also the party of peace. There is no issue more important in the coming election than the question of peace. And there is no point on which the Republicans and Democrats are more vulnerable. Both of them would like us to be nice and forget the fact that the Vietnam War and all the tragedies it entailed was a *bipartisan* enterprise, that it was the brilliant result of the complete cooperation of the other two parties. But we won't forget. We won't forget, because their current policies promise more of the same. What I will propose is a new foreign

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The 1980 Libertarian ticket: Ed Clark (right) for President; David Koch for Vice President

policy, a policy not based on the interests of some of the people, of specially privileged groups within our society, but one based on the interests of all of the people. The road we have travelled for decades is the wrong road. We have found it to be strewn with death, disaster, and wreckage. It's time to leave that road, to return to our traditional American policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. That is the only hope for peace, and without peace there is no hope.

These, then, are the major issues of the coming election. They are the ones I will drive home in my campaign across the country. And there's reason to believe the American people are ready. In California, this last year, the whole establishment, from the Bank of America to the unions of government employees, told the people that they were heading straight for perdition. But the people didn't listen. Instead, they followed Paul Gann and Howard Jarvis and passed Propostion 13 by a landslide. In San Francisco, led by Libertarians, they have placed on the ballot an initiative to help carry out Proposition 13, and cut the cost of government by abolishing the San Francisco Police Department's Vice Squad. Throughout America, when the apologists for the state speak, they find that no one's listening anymore. Each election, when the people think their choice is limited to an eenie-meenie-miney-mo between the Republicans and Democrats, they stay home in greater and greater numbers. Then the politicians berate the people and say they've failed in their duty as citizens. But I have news for the politicians.

Politics today—and more and more commentators are beginning to see this—is something different from what it was a generation ago, or even a few years ago. In that difference lies a tremendous opportunity for Libertarians. Voters are more sophisticated, more mature. You could say they've grown up. What has happened is that the mystique of government—the Santa Claus myth of the wisdom and the benevolence of our political leaders, of their infinite concern for us—has dissolved. It has dissolved because of the experience that the present generation has had of the leaders of the two other parties.

What has been that experience? I want you to consider for a moment the voter, man or woman, who next year will be 30 years old. When John F. Kennedy began sending American military advisors to Vietnam—when he started us down the long trek to war and death—that voter was 12 years old. He was 15 when Lyndon Johnson began the bombing of North Vietnam, to blast the peoples of Indochina back to the Stone Age. When, at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, the police rioted and beat up demonstrators and news people while "the whole world was watching," that voter was 18. At the time Nixon invaded Cambodia—when the students were closing down the college campuses all over the country, from Harvard to Stanford, when students were being killed at Kent State and at Jackson State—that voter was 20 years old, possibly in college himself or herself. He was 24 when Richard Nixon, the leader of the Grand Old Party, was forced to resign the presidency, under threat of impeachment, because he had lied and betrayed his solemn trust.

And what have the last few years brought, as this voter, who will be 30 years old next year, has tried to find a place in society, perhaps to raise a family? What has been his most recent experience with politics and our political leaders? What he has seen in the administration of Jimmy Carter are the final fruits of statist ideas, a spectacle of helpless incompetence so grotesque that we can only say, in the words of Oliver Cromwell: "You have sat here too long, for any good

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you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!"

So for all Americans, but especially for younger voters, the spell of government has been broken. We did not break that spell—history did. But we are ready to take advantage of the new politics, and I am ready to do so in the coming campaign.

What I propose is a system for the United States that is as good and decent and honest and humane and creative as are the American people. The name of that system is freedom.

Freedom is the genius of American civilization. Other great nations have been born in conquest. Ours began with the Declaration of Independence, and the enshrining of the idea of the natural rights of man. It was founded, not on the power of the State, but on the liberty of the individual. That principle of individual liberty has had its good days and its bad days in the United States; it's been denied to many groups of people for far too long. But the ideal has always survived. It is our answer and our hope.

At this point in our history, it happens that we Libertarians have a better understanding of the meaning of freedom than anyone else. We can't take all the credit for that. The only reason we can see as far as we do is because we stand on the shoulders of giants—of Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, of Patrick Henry, of Thomas Jefferson and Tom Paine. As our nation enters the last decades of the twentieth century, we are the keepers of their ideas. And we hold a great responsibility, because I believe—in all honesty—that we are their only heirs today.

And so we enter the great campaign of 1980. Many people have asked me, how many votes do I expect to get? I answer that this way—at the least, I'm going to get several million votes But even that isn't the whole story. If I am permitted to debate with my Republican and Democratic opponents—and I really don't think I have too much to fear from them, for reasons that Roy Childs made very clear in his keynote address—if I could get the chance to talk to the American people, face to face with the other candidates, I think the potential number of Libertarian votes is a figure we haven't dared to dream of.

I'm not going to say the campaign won't be fun. It will be. For one thing, there will be the petition drives, which we've all come to know and love. Actually, taking part in a petition drive is my *second* favorite thing. My *first* favorite thing is being stuck in an elevator with Jimmy Carter, while he tells me how much he loves me. But besides the fun there will be sacrifices also. None of us likes politics very much. It goes against the grain of our feelings and our values. Our ideal, as Libertarians, is the voluntary sector of social life, the sector of the free creation and exchange of goods and ideas. Politics, however, is the sector of coercion and force. As far as we're concerned, politics is something to be gotten out of the way as soon as possible, so that all of us can get back to the serious business of living. But now the very conditions of our lives are threatened by the consequences of the statist policies of the two other parties. So we are going into politics, and we are going into it in a very big way.

In the campaign we are now entering, there will be ups and downs. But I ask you always to remember why you are giving your effort and your support to this campaign. Our party has never been a party of personalities. It has never been a party of personal "charisma." It's a party of principles and ideals. So what you will be doing won't be for me. It will be for the principles you hold, for what you love, and for those you love. As a certain novelist once put it, it will be in the name of the best within you. ❑

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Free & Unequal
The Biological Basis of Individual Liberty
Roger J. Williams
A distinguished biochemist asks:
Are newborn babies essentially uniform products?

Free and Unequal

By Roger J. Williams

"A distinguished biochemist, who has long been concerned with the importance of science for human welfare, assails the widespread acceptance of what he calls the 'assembly-line doctrine' that people are fundamentally alike . . . Dr. Williams mobilizes evidence for the heritability—and thus the fundamental variability—not only of bodily traits but of physiological and psychological differences as well . . . The author then explores the significance of these differences. He shows how freedom itself depends on them, for freedom would be unimportant if we were all alike"—*Saturday Review.* "Eminently humane and he makes his principal points powerfully"—Ashley Montagu in the *New York Times.* Hardcover $8.00, Paperback $3.50.

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LIBERTARIANISM & THE LIBERAL ETHOS

PETER R. BREGGIN, M.D.

The candidates have been nominated, the platform has been written, the convention is over, and now the campaigning begins. Soon thoughtful Americans throughout the country will be hearing about the Libertarian Party: its views on the menace and irrationality of big government, on the causes of inflation, and on the threat to privacy. They will hear about non-interventionism in foreign policy, the capacity of the private sector to handle government services, and the virtues of deregulation. If they delve more deeply, they may learn about natural rights, the principle of voluntary exchange, and all the other favorite libertarian themes so amply and thoughtfully presented at the 1979 convention.

But none of this will be the deciding factor for the thoughtful, idealistic liberal voter. Instead, he or she will be asking, "What are the *intentions* of these people called libertarians? Are they *well-intentioned?* And more especially, *are they well-intentioned toward the disadvantaged, the minorities, and the poor?*" The idealistic liberal voter's greatest fear will be simply this: that libertarians are self-interested egoists callous to the needs and feelings of others less fortunate than themselves.

Most people who take the time to think about politics, and most people who consider themselves remotely intellectual, are not primarily motivated by *self-interest* in their thinking. If they were, "The War on Poverty" would have failed as political propaganda, and President Kennedy would never have dared to intone, "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country." Nor is it the liberal alone who remains focused on altruistic concerns. Humanists, humanitarians, Christians, Jews, and idealists of almost every persuasion are often more concerned about others than about themselves in their political thinking.

We libertarians assume our good intentions, of course, and we stand on our rational principles. But we must be aware that *others* will doubt our good intentions, especially toward the disadvantaged, and that our reputation may rise or fall upon how well we communicate to the public both our rational policies *and* our good intentions.

We must win over the constituency which I call "the advantaged liberal idealists." These are people who believe that they have benefited from the American political system more than others, and through their politics they plan to make amends for this. Often they are youthful, and typically they are educated. Often they are community leaders, and they virtually dominate the education and media businesses. If we are to grow much larger as a party, we must learn to understand these idealists and to communicate with them.

Who is the "advantaged liberal idealist"?

For much of my life I was in many ways a caricature of the advantaged liberal idealist, and much of what I say about him, I might say about myself as I once was.

I believed in government intervention to help the disadvantaged classes of this nation, and of *all* nations.

I had no clearly defined political philosophy but believed that more people of good intentions were needed in the government, and for a time I was one of them.

I participated in the Washington Peace March, and I signed newspaper petitions against the War in Vietnam though it put me in some jeopardy as an officer in the U.S. Public Health Service.

I was almost a pure libertarian on civil rights, except for the typical mistake of wishing to *force* others to give up their prejudices in their private economic lives.

I was leftist in economics, and like most liberals, I occasionally read Marxists, but *never* conservatives. Similarly, I often discussed economics with liberals, and sometimes with Marxists, but never with conservatives. I was deeply biased against everyone from the right, both personally and politically, and saw them as dangerous bigots seeking their own selfish gain. If I had heard about libertarians, I'm sure I would have mistaken them for conservatives.

I knew *nothing* about the principles of the free market.

My background was also typical of many advantaged liberal idealists. My father was a first generation Polish Jew who arrived in America at the age of nine and yet managed to work his way from poverty to the Board of Directors of a major corporation. He was a liberal, and though a member

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of the corporate hierarchy, always identified with those beneath him on the economic ladder rather than with his equals or with those above him.

I went to the best suburban schools, and the best colleges and universities; and had my higher education paid for by my parents. I escaped Vietnam by joining the Public Health Service for a two-year stint as a physician, and ended up with a very prestigious and cushy job in the nation's capital. I was *very* advantaged compared to others because of my "middle class" family background, my suburban schooling, my higher education, and my ability to gain entry to government privileges and largesse.

I felt very guilty about my advantages, and often thought about ways to help the disadvantaged classes. I often did this to my own disadvantage and at some self-sacrifice. In psychiatry, where I had first-hand experience, I was already a libertarian. I knew about the evils and frustrations of involuntary "therapeutic" relationships, and knew that I would never want anyone treating me against my will. I was also moving toward libertarianism in my personal life. I wanted to pursue my own happiness in my own way, free of interference from other *persons*. But when I thought about government interference in my life and in the lives of others, I largely dropped the principles which I had learned to value in my personal life and as a psychiatrist. I was too concerned about the "disadvantaged" to consider a sharp curtailment in government expenditures and control.

It is essential to remember that *the advantaged liberal idealist attributes his advantaged status entirely to luck or good fortune.* In taking this position, he will often ignore the fact that his parents worked very hard to provide him with most of his advantages, and he may forget that they took great risks in coming to America or in taking up a new trade or business. Even if he himself worked his way out of poverty, he will believe that he is more fortunate than others in family background, racial advantage, or perhaps in genetic endowment. He is "lucky" to be more intelligent or more ambitious than others.

Of course good fortune does play a major role in the success of many people, including advantaged liberals. But the individual I am talking about focuses *wholly* on good fortune or luck in the achievement of his advantaged status.

This is in sharp contrast, for example, to the hard-line conservative who also sees himself as advantaged, and even as superior, but who attributes this to anything but luck. Instead he sees his advantage as a matter of "good family," hard work, or religious morality.

The advantaged liberal idealist feels that his luck is unfair or unjust. In his heart he wishes everyone to have as much good luck or good fortune as he had. Extremists among advantaged liberal idealists are willing to sacrifice *all* of their good fortune even if it won't do anyone any good at all. Such an idealist is willing to sacrifice himself merely to "even the score" without advancing anyone's benefit.

The liberal idealist is not only concerned with improving the luck of the disadvantaged, he may also wish to handicap the most highly advantaged classes, especially those whom he sees as having a considerably greater advantage than himself. This includes those who have inherited great wealth or earned it through business enterprise, but *not* those who have earned it through music, art, literature or other activities which *he* happens to respect or enjoy. Much as I saw myself through my earlier life, this advantaged liberal idealist sees himself in a no man's land, or worse, in a free fire zone, standing between the most highly advantaged classes and the utterly disadvantaged. He sees himself in the righteous if terrifying role of leveling the disparities between the two extreme classes.

Amazingly, this means that in almost all cases the advantaged liberal idealist wants everyone to have *exactly his own luck.* He wants everyone to be like him—neither better nor worse off. If he worked his way up from poverty with the encouragement of his parents, he wants everyone to have ambitious parents. He will even call for government programs to encourage ambitious parents. If he sees himself as having gone to better schools, he will call for this as well, and ask the government to enforce it. If his father footed the bill for him to begin a small business, then this will seem to him the "natural" level of good fortune for all people.

The advantaged liberal idealist is lacking in a sense of persons as separate and independent from himself. In his guilt toward the "lower classes," and his resentment toward the "upper classes," he lives amid a meshwork of relationships from which he cannot disentangle himself as an autonomous, separate, self-determining entity. He is not aware of *himself* as much as he is aware of his *relationship to others.*

Ironically, he is more aware of the "plight" of the disadvantaged classes than of the hard work or ethical conduct which may have given rise to his own status. He is likely to have read and to have studied many books and statements of principle aimed at explaining how social and economic forces are at the root of *all* personal failures among the disadvantaged classes; but he is not likely to have read or studied a single book of principle which helps him to understand how *any* of his or his parents' success resulted from personal responsibility and courage. In my own case, for example, though my immigrant father began life in America with few advantages and many burdens, my father encouraged me to focus almost wholly upon the unfairness of life to disadvantaged persons, while wholly neglecting to note that he himself had risen from extreme disadvantage by dint of sheer will power and hard work. This is a major characteristic of the advantaged liberal idealist—his greater focus upon understanding others than upon understanding himself, and in particular, his extraordinary attention to explaining away the inevitable failures of others while disregarding his own personal responsibility for success. While an idealistic concern for those less fortunate than ourselves is a fine and enduring human value—one that should flourish in a libertarian society—this lopsided, self-denigrating emphasis on the part of the advantaged idealist can only be explained on the basis of guilt.

Guilt and good intentions

To defend against his guilt, the advantaged liberal idealist develops the identity of "good guy with good intentions." He thinks of himself as someone who "means well." Out of this orientation grows the familiar figure of the "do-gooder." This form of liberalism, as I lived it myself for many years, is not really a philosophy or a political ideology. It is a *psychology of good intentions whose aim is not so much to bring about change in the outside world as it is to assuage guilt within the inner personal world.*

The advantaged liberal idealist says to himself: "However much I have been unfairly favored by luck or fortune, I am well-intentioned." He not only builds his political identity around this distorted self-image, he reinforces it by contrasting himself with conservatives, and perhaps with libertarians, whom he sees as being *ill-intentioned.*

This advantaged idealist typically discriminates among

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"Ghettos at the turn of the century bustled with activity; they were gateways into the American way of life."

political parties and political leaders almost wholly on the basis of their intentions rather than their principles. He may have almost no ideological commitment beyond his own good intention to support others of good intention. But because his motivation is guilt, he is largely willing to forgive any bad intentions among the disadvantaged. They may be violent, hateful and resentful. He "understands" and "forgives" them. He hopes in turn they will forgive him his unfair advantages. But as far as he is concerned, anything that remotely smacks of conservatism is wholly lacking in ideals and wholly devoid of good intentions.

While the advantaged idealist feels that he has had an unfair share of good luck, he doesn't feel "lucky." Instead his advantages weigh on him as terrible burdens. Often this extends far beyond the political sphere and corrupts his personal life so that he cannot be happy. Especially, he cannot take *joy* in his advantages. He may feel superior to the underprivileged; but unlike the conservative, he takes no pride in this, and receives no satisfaction.

Partly because he cannot overcome his guilt despite his good intentions, the advantaged idealist typically feels very dissatisfied with his own lot in life. He develops a deep conviction that "nice guys finish last." Nice guys just like himself! Translated into politics, this means he will become victorious when "nice guys" run the world. Carried to its frequent extreme, liberalism reflects little more than a desire to have the "nice guys like myself" take over the world.

Since the advantaged idealist is hardly joyful despite his advantages, he comes to a dreadful conclusion — that without his advantages he would have become an abject failure. The disadvantaged who survive at all become heroic in his eyes, while he himself becomes an impotent anti-hero.

The righteousness of the advantaged liberal idealist smacks of religiosity, and indeed, the "liberalism" of this person comes much closer to religion than to politics: He seeks through his liberal humanitarianism to find redemption for the sin of being born with unfair advantage. Unlike the traditional Christian, his struggle is not with the temptation to enjoy sex, alcohol or secular philosophies. His temptation is to enjoy his undeserved advantages. But his struggle with this awful temptation is no less difficult than that of the religionist.

It is well known that most liberals reach their bloom early in their teens, and then must struggle with more conservative tendencies as they grow older. Adolescent liberalism qualifies as a religion because it aims at the absolution of personal guilt rather than at the solution of political problems. Commonly, the adolescent is too immature to focus objectively on the plight of others and has little or no familiarity with political or economic theory. His "liberalism" is from the heart; and typically this is a guilty heart.

This liberal, humanitarian adolescent, in his desire to overcome personal guilt, wishes to infuse the whole world with his good intentions. Naively believing the propaganda he is fed in school and through the media, he begins to see the government as a potential source of power through which to generate and project his personal good intentions. He hopes for or looks forward to a government of good intentions.

How can a government have good intentions? How can it have any intentions? The adolescent does not think this through. He is not interested in analyzing the effects of systems. The guilt, plus the impotence felt by nearly every adolescent, leads him to hope and pray for a government that will represent nothing more nor less than "the best of me!" Adolescent liberalism is an enormous expansion of every adolescent's belief that everything would be better "if only I were in charge."

Adolescent liberal idealism — the idealism of the advantaged — explains why faith in government has not been wholly destroyed by Vietnam and Watergate, or even by inflation. The idealist blames men, not governments. Get rid of General Westmoreland. Get rid of President Nixon. Put good men in charge. Yes, the faith is wearing thin, but it has not been shattered.

To the extent that big government in this country reflects the infusion of government with a personal religion aimed at the absolution of guilt, it reflects a state religion.

Understanding particular liberal attitudes

This analysis of advantaged liberal idealism enables us to understand otherwise incomprehensible phenomena.

How can intelligent, well-intentioned people go from one do-good project to another despite failure upon failure? Because they are not so much interested in *doing* the right thing as in *trying* to do the right thing. They are oriented to their guilt, rather than to objective conditions in the world. *Trying* is a good way to absolve guilt. Accomplishing may actually exacerbate guilt. Failures can always be blamed on the need for more trying and greater good intentions. If trying becomes a personal sacrifice, all the better to assuage the guilt. In its more extreme religious forms, good works matter not at all. What matters, as in extremes of religion, is bearing witness to the faith.

How can so many advantaged idealists embrace the new politics of no growth, no energy and no luxuries? Because despair is setting in, and when desperate, the advantaged idealist would rather give up his advantages than continue to bear his guilt over unequal advantage. As a corollary we can explain the extraordinary willingness of individual liberal idealists to buy unsafe, flimsy, gas-saving cars in order to "conserve energy" when they know full well that their neighbors own a couple of gas guzzlers plus a motor boat or two. The advantaged liberal is often concerned only with overcoming his own personal guilt. If others wish to go on sinning and suffering, that is their own business. Unhappily, not all liberals are so inclined and many ultimately turn to enforcing their religion upon their neighbors, if only to save their neighbors' souls.

Why do liberals support equal opportunity programs

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THE BETTMAN ARCHIVE

which at times seem libertarian? Because in their naivete they believe that equal opportunity will mean that all people will *become equal in achievement.* When they find this to be false, their guilt motivates them toward special treatment programs and affirmative action programs to make sure that everyone will turn out the same. Thus the liberal moves toward communism.

Why do liberals read, associate with and even defend communists but never conservatives? Because communists are seen as suffering from exaggerated good intentions while conservatives are seen as having bad intentions. When the liberal sees the continued failure of his programs, he too may turn to "exaggerated good intentions," if only to level everyone's "luck" to a state approaching zero.

Why do liberals fear and distrust articulated philosophies and logical principles? As a personal religion aimed at assuaging guilt rather than changing the world, liberalism is subjective, personalistic and relativistic. As such, it does not dare test itself against the logic required to formulate rational principles. Nor does liberalism wish to articulate its aims with sufficient clarity to test them against results.

If the liberal were truly able to solve the problems he addresses, he would find himself in serious psychological trouble. His personal guilt would now lack an object of focus. He would have to turn inward to find more personal sources of guilt, particularly in his family life and upbringing, and in his own independent adoption of irrational viewpoints. Far better for the problems he faces in the world to remain unsolved, thus obscuring the true causes of his personal anguish. A newspaper story recently quoted Joan Baez as saying that she only feels happy when fighting for a cause because otherwise she must face her own unsatisfactory personal life.

We cannot approach the liberal by telling him that he is "irrational" or "motivated by guilt." In any given case, we may be wrong. And unless "motivations" are an agreed upon point of discussion, it's dirty playing to focus on them.

We don't want to fall into the trap of discrediting others by psychologizing about them as the liberals tried to do with Barry Goldwater. But such considerations can give us a direction, a thrust in dealing with these persons. It tells us where we must place special attention. This doesn't mean that we sell our principles short and turn to mere propaganda or emotional appeals. It means that we pay special attention to certain issues of concern to every advantaged idealist.

First and foremost, libertarians must realize that appeals to the self-interest of the advantaged liberal idealist will not necessarily sway him. His guilt often makes it nearly impossible for him to consider such arguments in any detail, and ultimately, he doesn't want to be told that he too is suffering. True, all of us are disadvantaged by the government; but the disadvantaged idealist wants to hear about the suffering of *others.* The natural bent of the libertarian is to talk about self-interest, for he assumes that all persons primarily pursue self-interest, and he believes that freedom is in everyone's self-interest. This is a belief that the public and the media do not share.

In my own private practice of psychotherapy, it is sometimes very hard for my clients to learn that the pursuit of their own self-interest in their own private lives makes them more loving and more productive, and greatly benefits every person of good faith with whom they deal. Even then my clients often fail to take the next step and to apply the lessons of their private lives to their public religion—liberalism. It cannot be over-emphasized that appeals to self-interest alone will never win over the advantaged liberal idealist in his or her political thinking.

The Libertarian Party, remember is *not* the party of pure egoism, though some libertarians may be egoists. Even less so is the Libertarian Party the champion of petty selfishness. There may be room for these viewpoints within the party; but this is not the aim or the fundamental principle of the party. The Libertarian Party is the party of principle—and the principle is freedom, *everyone's* freedom.

Second, once we have shifted some of our emphasis away

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"The modern ghetto is a dull and lifeless place with little upward mobility—because of government controls."

from pure appeals to self-interest, we must recognize that the single most important issue for the intellectual, advantaged idealist is the fate of the disadvantaged person. The Libertarian Party must demonstrate with overwhelming data and iron-clad arguments that the fate of the poor, the disadvantaged and the underprivileged will *improve* under libertarianism. The subject merits not one speech or one book, but many, many speeches and many, many books.

Libertarians can show that the poor do the *worst* as government power increases. This is because the seats of power are *always* held by one advantaged class or another, and so long as seats of power exist, government will serve those in power and take advantage of those who have the least power. In every state in the world since the dawn of history, the disadvantaged poor have exercised the least power. Only when seats of government power cease to exist will the poor have a chance to compete with those who have been born with greater advantage.

The liberal should be reminded of motion pictures he has seen and books he has read about the thriving "ghettos" of the turn of the century in this country. They bustled with activity. On every corner, vendors sold their wares—everything from clothing to food. People went from house to house offering their services as carpenters, plumbers or electricians. Whole families, including teenaged children, found employment, and added to the sum of the family income. Wages were low but not so low that most families could not improve themselves vastly over their previous lot in life. Individuals saved and then started businesses on shoestrings, and built them into mighty stores and chains of stores. People lived in poverty, yes; conditions were often very difficult, yes; but the poverty was alive, and the ghetto was a gateway into the American way of life. As countless autobiographies have demonstrated, many people thrived in these ghettos, and as they strove to better themselves, they left the ghettos behind, making room for others to immigrate into the country and to restart the cycle of revitalizing themselves and their new country.

Now contrast this with the modern "ghetto." It is a dull and lifeless place. Much of the "action" on the streets often consists of crimes of violence or the sale of drugs and stolen goods. The people often feel downtrodden, humiliated and hopeless. Whole families are unemployed rather than employed. There is little upward mobility and much frustration.

Surely some of this stagnation results from a racist exclusion of certain groups from the mainstream of society, as well as from historic factors, such as slavery and its lingering effects. But the greatest cause of all is government control over the lives of the citizens in the ghetto. For example, in my own city, Washington, D.C., vendors are not allowed upon the streets without a government license, and these licenses are given out in limited numbers to those who know how to get them. As for the selling of fruits, vegetables, fish or other readily available food produced from nearby farms and waters, this is made impossible by a host of public health and business restrictions. Anyone offering his services as a carpenter, electrician or plumber would immediately run into a myriad of restrictions. Of course, he would be shut out of government protected trade unions. But even working on his own he would have to be licensed, and then his work would have to be approved by inspectors seeking graft or imposing legal standards set for upper middle class homes. The entire ghetto family could rarely be employed because the minimum wage laws create unemployment by making it virtually impossible for small, local businessmen to profitably employ wholly unskilled youngsters. Indeed, welfare payment makes it unprofitable for many adults to work, and further encourages the stagnation. As for starting a business, it takes a genius (or a person with payoff money) to figure his way through the labyrinth of regulations and building codes. And finally, immigration quotas make sure that no new blood will be infused into these ghettos, creating for the first time in American history a fixed lower class, rather than a mobile lower class working its way upward, while new classes of poor flood in to the land of freedom and opportunity.

This image—the old ghetto versus the new ghetto—can demonstrate to the liberal a new starting point for helping the disadvantaged. The poor need *freedom*—freedom from government control. Freedom is what made America a haven for the poor, and freedom is what made it possible for the poor immigrant parents of the advantaged liberal to work their way into a position of advantage.

I had a dismaying example of what government control does to the poor and the disadvantaged when my wife, Phyllis, decided to start a nursery school. She is the ideal person to run a school for little children under age four or five. She loves to sing children's songs and to play the guitar, she enjoys reading aloud and making up games, she delights in cooking good lunches, and she has mastered the art of control through firmness and love. She had part-time people eager to work for her—including a qualified nurse—and she planned the nursery school in our home, literally under the supervision of a physician and psychiatrist (myself) who himself had once been a consultant in education for the government and for private schools. She had an ideal physical environment for children, an old basement that had been refinished years ago with three large rooms, including a bathroom and a kitchen. And finally, she was willing to work for a small profit. Had Phyllis been attempting her project at the turn of the century, she could have created a thriving nursery school in a month or two, and perhaps a chain of them in a year. She would have earned money and provided a desperately needed community service.

Instead, she sent away for the county regulations. It turned out that for Phyllis to have any function in this proposed nursery, she would have to go back to school to take hour upon hour of worthless courses in child education. Second, she would have to rebuild the basement according to regulations aimed at providing the richest child

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NEIL HEILPERN

in town with an ideal environment, including ceilings of a certain height and windows of a certain size. In fact, it was impossible to make the changes in our basement. Third, fourth, fifth ... the regulations went on endlessly. Even as the wife of a physician earning a high income, she couldn't afford to meet the standards.

Now imagine a poor person of equal personal qualifications trying to set up a school in the ghetto! No wonder the ghetto is a dying place. No wonder the entire society is becoming moribund.

Libertarians need not be ashamed of their intentions toward the poor; we are the only party which holds out any *hope* for the poor.

Third, libertarians and the Libertarian Party must develop an ideal which includes a rational justification for caring about others—not out of guilt—but out of what Adam Smith has called "fellow-feeling." Libertarians must realize that they fight for freedom not out of personal self-interest alone but also out of idealism. Libertarians must emphasize that personal freedom is not only compatible with love for others but that personal freedom is the optimum context for feeling and expressing love. We wish the oppressed to become free, and thus to be enabled to make their own ways in the world. True love for other human beings urges us to grant them freedom. This is one of the messages I develop in my forthcoming *Psychology of Freedom,* and it is a message without which libertarianism as a movement cannot grow and thrive.

Fourth, we must make clear that in addition to good theories and to good principles, we have good intentions, especially toward the disadvantaged. In fact, we must show that people who love freedom are the best-intentioned people in the world. In particular, we must acknowledge that in dismantling the state there will be painful dislocations. People who grew to old age investing their savings in social security cannot be left in the lurch. We cannot flippantly declare "It's their own fault for trusting the government." Nor can we blithely assume that private charity will immediately step into the void. We must make clear that a government run by libertarians will move cautiously and carefully down the road of freedom while doing its best to ease the inevitable dislocations and sufferings that will follow. We must have a longterm view of what we are doing, and that view must include concern for the human suffering involved in any massive social change. Especially we must make clear that *overall human suffering* will be vastly alleviated in a libertarian world, and we must be prepared to show how and why this is so. This will require the attention of many libertarians for many years.

Fifth, libertarians must remind the public again and again that programs to help the disadvantaged will not be the first programs to be cut. Indeed, cutting programs for the poor and helpless is how the other parties operate to cut costs. Our first major cuts should be aimed at arenas from which the rich most benefit—the defense establishment with its monopoly contracts to big business, direct subsidies for big businesses and big farmers, the regulation of industry which forces inflated costs on the consumer, the tariffs that keep out cheaper foreign goods like Japanese cars and force higher prices on the consumer, the government-supported unions which shut out the poor and the black from the trades, the medical monopoly which limits the supply of physicians and makes it possible for them to become wealthy in a field in which many, many well-intentioned people would choose to work for far less if only they could become physicians.

In other words, the liberal, the humanist and the humanitarian must learn that we are not only well-intentioned toward the disadvantaged, but we are the *only* party which is badly-intentioned toward those groups which have grown fat off government power.

The most highly advantaged classes fear a free market economy. Most super-wealthy families like the Rockefellers and the Kennedys worked hand in hand with big government to make their millions. The free market, the public must see, favors the honest producers of valuable goods,

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"The poor actually do worse as government power increases. What the poor need is freedom — freedom from government."

while government control favors the dishonest manipulators of government power.

Whenever I talk about libertarianism, my audience is at first surprised that we don't have a great deal of support from big industry. That's how badly-intentioned they think we are. We must show them that *we* will never have the support of anyone who lives off government influence and power, but that the Democratic and Republican parties alike support a fascistic government which gives unfair advantages to the large corporations while stifling the smaller ones.

Sixth, in foreign policy, the liberal, humanist and humanitarian is again motivated by his concern about the disadvantaged. Too often libertarians single out Israel among all nations for criticism, in part because of its theocracy and its socialism, as well as its militancy. But liberals single out Israel for support precisely because they envision Israel as disadvantaged, first through the suffering of the Holocaust, and second through the constant threat to its survival. To lambast Israel without recognizing at the same time that it was born out of a desperate necessity—for the survival of individual Jews—is to ignore reality. What European Jew with any courage would not have fled to Israel during and after World War II? Instead of ignoring the agony out of which Israel grew, and instead of ignoring its precarious position, Libertarians must demonstrate that the Middle East conflict was generated not only by Nazi atrocities, but by closed national borders. Had the greatest liberal of them all, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, been willing to admit European Jews into America, the Holocaust might have been averted. Instead, Roosevelt responded to political pressures from every sector (including organized medicine, which was afraid of competition from Jewish doctors) and held the immigration quotas for German Jews below the quota for Germany itself.

This is not to say that the Jews of Israel are in the right and the Arabs of Palestine in the wrong. Instead, we have two aggrieved, disadvantaged parties locked into a tragic conflict which would never have been born in the first place in a libertarian world. *This* emphasis will serve libertarians and the truth as well.

Still on the subject of foreign policy, libertarians must avoid associating themselves with South Africa in any way whatsoever. Of course the Libertarian Party loathes apartheid and the police state tactics of South Africa. No political party could be more against South Africa than the Libertarian Party. Yet there are tendencies among *individual libertarians* to create a kind of romance with South Africa, and this tendency is strong enough for the Party to make it *especially clear* that it stands wholly against the policies of South Africa. Because South Africa contains gold mines and diamond mines which appeal so much to libertarians, libertarians are bombarded with pro-South African material advocating not only investment in that country, but white-washing its politics. But gold in its earth does not make a libertarian nation! One book sold through a libertarian catalogue (not affiliated with the Party) actually shows pictures of happy blacks playing in their compounds. To my great shame, early in my libertarian career, I too got caught up in the romance of investing in South Africa, and the liberal in me tells me that I deserved the beating I took when South African gold stocks fell. Recently I chatted with a warm and lovely person, a truly sensitive libertarian, who nonetheless tried to argue that apartheid is "no worse" than American slavery had once been. What kind of argument is that? Another libertarian at the table argued that everyone living under Communist rule in Russia or in China suffers more than the blacks in South Africa. This is not only patently false, it is irrelevant. But furthermore, it overlooks the perniciousness of separating *one race* within a country for special treatment as *sub-human.* This is far more personally degrading than living in a nation where *all citizens* are equally suppressed.

Nothing will mean quicker death for the Libertarian Party on foreign policy issues than continued attempts by individual libertarians to single out Israel as an especially pernicious nation, or the continued attempts of individual libertarians to foster a romance with South Africa. Happily the Party itself in its official posture remains free of such irrationality.

Seventh, in our love of liberty we must never associate ourselves or the Party with the idea of making a hero out of someone who exploits the poor. Sure, it is humorous and ironic to call a pimp or prostitute a hero of free enterprise. But the pimp is often an exploiter of the poor. And the prostitute may be a person suffering from personal degradation, and from extreme poverty. Let us not be too "clever" in our analogies. These are serious issues to idealists, and they should be.

Eighth, we must help redefine the whole concept of advantage. One person's advantage is not necessarily another person's disadvantage. Sometimes an advantage is purely the result of something good that an individual or his family has accomplished. He has worked hard and contributed to the community, and he has been rewarded for this. He now passes this advantage onto his children, who themselves are in a better position to contribute to their own lives and to the life of the community. In a free society, one person's advantage in most cases will make him more productive and thereby increase the advantages of others. This is not news to libertarians, but it is a shocking revelation to humanistic and humanitarian liberals. To couch the issue in terms of "one person's advantage is often another person's advantage" may help the liberal idealist in understanding what is being said, for unfair advantage is his greatest concern.

Finally, and perhaps most difficult for most libertarians, we must admit that we don't have all the answers. In advance of taking over and dismantling the government, we cannot have a foolproof blueprint to meet every contingency. I cannot tell you how many liberals have breathed a sigh of relief when I had admitted, "Of course we don't

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have all the answers. But we know the *direction* we want to go in—toward limiting the power of the government while increasing the freedom of the individual." Within the party there are debates about various solutions. David Friedman, for example, has pointed out how difficult it will be to solve certain problems such as building dams in a libertarian society. Let's admit it. Let's admit we'll have to learn as we go along. The liberal idealist will feel better about us, and rightly so; smugness almost always masks arrogant stupidity about the complexity of human life. Emphasize the coherency and cogency of our principles. Point out that many alternative explanations have been proposed for handling government monopolies throughout the private sector. Explain further that the toughest problems won't require solution until we are well along the way to reducing the size and the power of the government. Then we can take stock and worry about whether or not *all* the bridges and tunnels can be privately owned, or whether the water supply of *every* city can be handled by free enterprise. We have more immediate and pressing problems, like cutting taxes, reducing the budget, slowing inflation, stopping the draft, increasing civil liberties, and the like, before we will have to deal with some of the more difficult issues. By then we will have more experience, more research, more fine ideas, and increasing leadership. This is not a compromise; this is not a request to give up thinking through the toughest problems; this is a statement of reality. We don't *need* all the answers to win over others to our side. We will win over more reasonable people if we emphasize that we have a thrust—a thrust toward freedom—and that many of the details will require further thought, analysis and experience.

Ultimately, we can speak of love—love for people and love for freedom. We can explain, as I have tried to do in my *Psychology of Freedom,* that love leads us to defend the liberty of our loved ones, and that a true love for humans in the abstract—as much as it is possible—leads us to an equal love for freedom in the abstract. Love for others makes us joyful over their freedom. It makes us respect the achievements of free individuals. And it also gives us sympathy for those who have suffered unjustly. This "fellow feeling" of Adam Smith leads us toward charity in a free society.

The Libertarian Party is the party of freedom. We must show that freedom is consistent with love for others, and especially with a desire for *all honest human beings to prosper.* We must, more than any other party, become the advocate of the poor and the disadvantaged, and become known to idealists as the party of good intentions. Ultimately we are the best intentioned party that has ever existed on this planet. We are the only party to enter the political arena with the sole purpose of destroying politics as such instead of using politics to our own selfish advantage.

Liberals appreciate lofty idealism. Libertarians often distrust it as hypocrisy. But I want to conclude with my own belief that we are the party of lofty idealism—and we should be proud of it. We believe in the loftiest ideal of all—individual freedom. We must teach our fellow idealists that freedom is the most just advantage, and the most important advantage in anyone's personal and political life. Then we must show these idealists how we plan to increase everyone's freedom, including the underprivileged and the disadvantaged. ❑

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Reflections on History

By Jacob Burckhardt

Jacob Burckhardt, the nineteenth-century Swiss historian and humanist, was a friend of liberty and a skeptic of power. He foresaw the coming of collectivism, and Nietzsche found in Burckhardt an historian who "was not dominated by the general whims and dared to see things realistically." First translated into English in 1943, *Reflections on History* was previously published in the United States under the title *Force and Freedom.* With an introduction by Gottfried Dietze. "No one predicted the modern totalitarian state more accurately" —Reinhold Niebuhr in *The Nation.* "A guided tour through the history of civilization"—*Saturday Review of Literature.* Hardcover $9.00, Softcover $4.00.

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BOOKS AND THE ARTS

On View

To the heart of darkness

DAVID BRUDNOY

FRANCIS COPPOLA's *Apocalypse Now* has, at last, happened. Not so much *appeared* in movie houses across the land as *materialized,* as if some mystical object of veneration had finally turned up for close inspection. $30-million dollars and four years later, a notable film of some two hours and twenty-six minutes duration has come before us, wrapped in the legends of its birth pangs, now no longer The Event, The Experience, The Film About to Occur, but a movie, no more, no less. For years, those who follow such things participated, however vicariously, in something closely akin to a cinema soap opera: Would Coppola continue to slog through those jungles while poltergeists, or something, sabotaged his venture? Would Marlon Brando make nice, for once, and read his lines as written? Would yet another leading actor (Martin Sheen) be booted off the project as was his predecessor (Harvey Keitel)? Would the whole gargantuan task simply collapse of its own weight and enter the film history books as an almost-Edsel? The making of most, maybe all, significant works of art contains a story of the making itself, and *Apocalypse Now* is not unique in that respect. But in this instance a film of sometimes breathtaking excellence has been nearly buried under a kind of *People* magazine gossipry.

The reader has undoubtedly taken all that he can bear about the traumata of the jungle, which Coppola and his cast and his crew and his co-writer and his financiers and his family had to endure to bring this movie to life. Of the 1979 Cannes Film Festival, where it was shown as a "work in progress," and whence it emerged with a Golden Palm (the biggie, though nobody except other Golden Palm winners remember who got that accolade in previous years), not much need be said here except that Coppola evidently felt so uncertain about what he was then completing that he asked the preview audience, in an elaborate and virtually impossible questionnaire, to help make up his mind for him.

There remains, as well, the mystery of the endings. Coppola showed the film at Cannes with an ambiguous close, leading some in attendance to clamor about (or at least suggest) a splashier ending. At which point he allowed as how he just happened to have one in hand: a fiery napalm termination ("with extreme prejudice," as they say in militaryspeak) instead of the more problematic finale that the festivalers had witnessed. Foreign distributors have reportedly asked for the fireworks and will get them, and as I write this (a few days after the opening in New York but before the film has opened elsewhere) it is said that some American cities will get the showy ending and others the one that I saw, which I take to be one very much like that seen at Cannes. The mystery of the endings will have to remain such, at least for now. The strength of *Apocalypse Now* is elsewhere than in its final minutes; in fact, the last moments are not particularly fine. I doubt that the other version of them would improve matters much.

What matters is the vision, the intent, the realization, and the impact. Coppola and his co-writer, John Milius, have attempted an updating, of sorts, of Joseph Conrad's "Heart of Darkness—removed from Africa and placed in Vietnam, in 1969, but retaining the lesson about the corruptions of power and the madness of the jungle; better to say, the maddening effects of jungle on men. They have seen in the Vietnam experience not merely a watershed in contemporary Asian history but, as well, a ghastly turning point for America. The film contains what may well be the most haunting scenes of war imaginable in cinema, and several vignettes of such awesome durability that they will likely remain in any viewer's mind for an uncomfortably long time. Partisans of *The Deer Hunter* will lock horns with devotees of *Apocalypse Now,* arguing forever the merits of their favorite, but each side will acknowledge that the two movies are comparable in their ability to dredge up from the viewer a response, not merely a reaction.

The story is this: an American soldier, Captain Willard, is sent by his superiors into Cambodia to find and then to eliminate a brilliant Green Beret officer, Colonel Kurtz, who has evidently gone "insane" and taken to running the war his own way, and in territory then off-limits, to boot. Along the way, Willard passes through the hands of Americans of various sorts and enters into regions beyond his ken. At last he encounters Kurtz and is imprisoned by Kurtz and then kills Kurtz. It is, on the simplest level, a journey into the heart of darkness—darkness portrayed here as the strange territory of elements and human experience. Unfortunately this is a darkness that clouds the vision rather than a darkness that widens the eyes and permits a clearer understanding. *Apocalypse Now* is brilliant as a travelogue through territory and attitude; it is pedestrian as an an aid to insight. The surface is everything—majestic, terrifying, enraging—but the "heart" is cold.

Adding to the film's weakness is a voice-over narration, delivered by Captain Willard and written by Michael Herr, author of *Dispatches;* this enlarges our understanding in no way and is at times so stupid, so flat and useless, that nothing can be done with it except tear it out and

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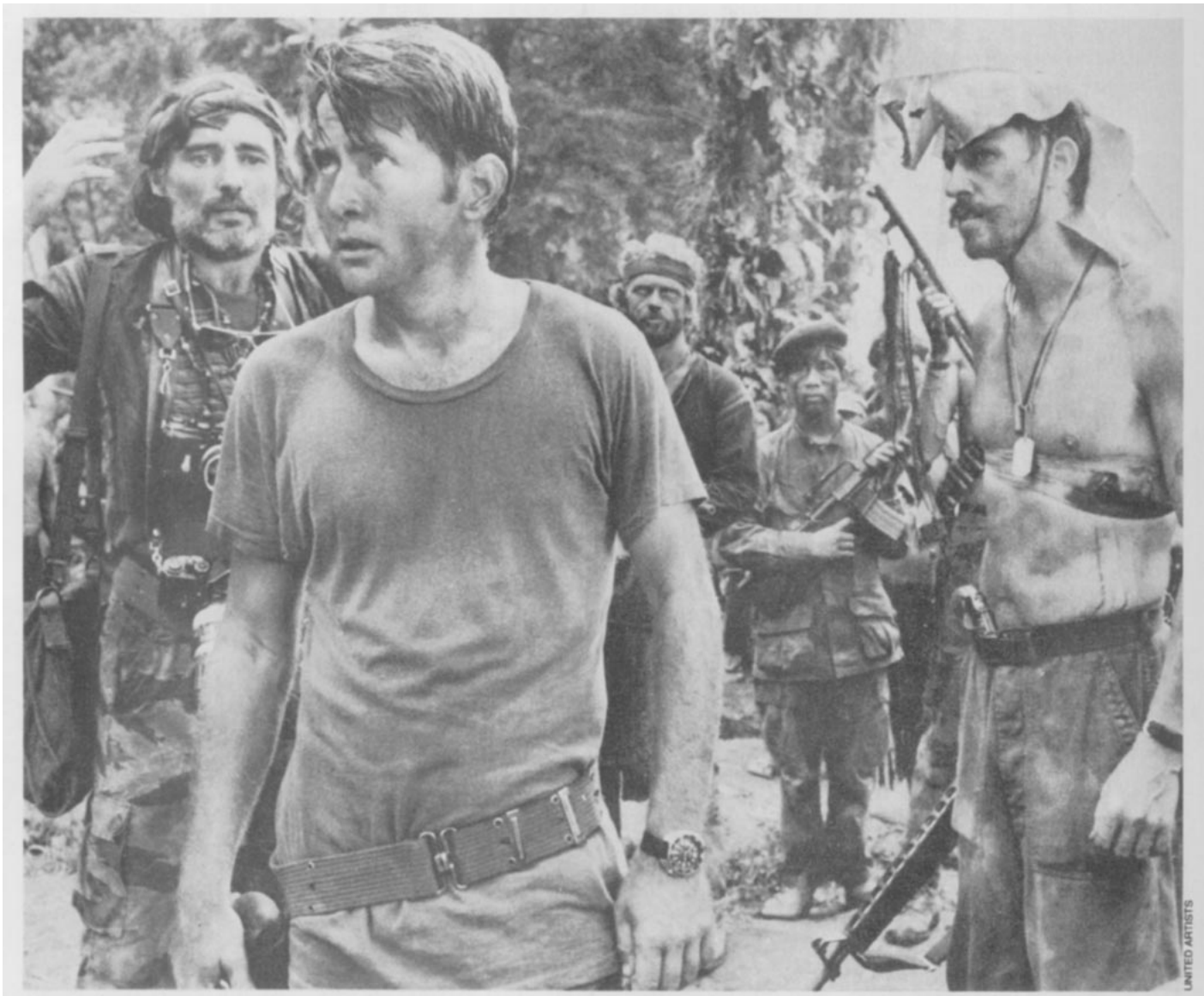

"*Apocalypse Now* sees in the Vietnam experience not merely a watershed in contemporary Asian history but, as well, a ghastly turning point for America. It contains what may well be the most haunting scenes of war imaginable in cinema."

throw it away. (Much has been written, also, about Coppola's decision, while making the movie, to rewrite the Milius script, and to employ this narration; but I have not seen any indication anywhere that Coppola has offered us a version of the movie absent the narration. Much ado about endings, but apparently no worry about a jarring, intrusive, silly string of words rising up out of nowhere and leading nowhere.) As we are introduced early on to an exhausted, unnerved Willard in Saigon—"Saigon . . . shit . . . I'm still in Saigon"—we are subjected to profundities: "Every moment I'm in this room, I get weaker. Charlie in the bushes gets stronger." It doesn't get any better.

But what stunning images we see and what wonderful sounds we hear! The movie opens with a beautiful scene of trees, placid, still, eternal. No credits, no activity, for what seems to be several minutes though it can't have lasted that long. Then, suddenly, the trees are aflame. That is all. That is our introduction, through Nature despoiled, through napalm employed, to this trip into the murkiness of a grand vision ultimately obscured. The best of this movie is horror (as the worst is literally "The horror! The horror!" emanating from the mouth of the dying Kurtz, as arty as can be and as superfluous as the narration)—the horror of that war, by implication the horror of any war, the astounding obtuseness of "leaders" and the pathetic sacrifices of those who follow.

Imagine, if you will, a commander, Lt. Colonel Kilgore, who is so enamored of surfing that, while destroying a Vietnamese village with an elaborate helicopter and airplane attack, he instructs a few of his boys to take their boards and try out the waves. More than instructs them: *orders* them to get out of their uniforms and get those damn surfboards out there or else go fight the war! The same Kilgore mounts his attack with the aid of loudspeakers on his 'copters blaring Wagner's "Ride of the Valkyries," because, he merrily explains, it "frightens the shit out of the gooks." You can read a lot of Hitlerian symbolism into this fanatic and his tactics, but even passing up that opportunity you can read the man's approach as something not, shall we say, quite orthodox, quite sane. As the surfers test the waves and the village goes up in flame, Kilgore exults: "I love the smell of napalm in the morning. It smells like victory."

That's about the last of unequivocal "victory" in *Apocalypse Now*. Our Willard is no Candide moving innocently through a world of monstrosities and

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fiendishness and dumbness; he is himself a killer, as he shows when he murders an innocent peasant girl who has barely survived a wholly unnecessary attack on a peaceful boat ordered by himself. Willard moves upriver in a small Navy boat captained by a sober black man, Chief, and operated by a handful of "typical" American boys, among them a famous California surfer, Lance, for whom Lt. Colonel Kilgore feels such admiration, born of the boy's reputation, that the officer rushes away from a momentary errand of mercy (administering a canteen of water to a dying soldier) in order to extend a hearty welcome to the newcomer.

The stopover with Lt. Colonel Kilgore is required if Captain Willard is to secure the cover to get him past a hostile village and into the stream that will take him to Cambodia. Then the movie shifts its gears somewhat, lowering its register and diminishing not the effect but the intensity of the death and destruction. The captain and his escorts on the boat come into an American base up-river where Bill Graham, the rock impressario, lands his USO show, bearing Playmates who tease the soldier boys with their bumps and grinds. Captain Willard moves onward, losing some of the men on the little boat, and watching others "wasted" by enemy fire. The death toll mounts, the frenzy of that stunning episode with Lt. Colonel Kilgore passes into a scorching voyage into the unknown.

The destination is Colonel Kurtz's jungle hideaway. Coppola has transplanted into his Cambodia (the Philippines) something that resembles a great chunk of Angkor Wat as embellished by Cecil B. DeMille, and in this ludicrous stage set he has dotted the steps and the trees and the cornices with corpses and severed heads and random limbs. And far back, in a room in which he reads and writes and, presumably, soliloquizes endlessly, sits, or rather reclines, Kurtz. Willard is introduced to the essence of Kurtz by a photo-journalist who has somehow wound up in the world of Kurtz and who tries mightily to convince himself, while working to convince others, that Kurtz is a genius, if, admittedly, a trifle given to excessiveness in his methods. Willard is taken prisoner, held in the grasp of two rows of bamboo pikes so closely positioned that he cannot move. Later Kurtz stops by to drop an object at Willard's feet: it is the head of one of his companions on the boat.

"Save for Marlon Brando—and it is not so much that Brando is atrocious in his part, as that there is no part for him to act—the cast gives a weight to the story that the story itself lacks."

What happens next is the ending. Colonel Kurtz, he dead. Let the details come to you in the viewing.

You must endure the narration to get that far, and you must at that point endure Marlon Brando, who has thickened into something that, if female, would never appear in public except in a mumu, and who has shaved his head, like a bloated Kojak of the forest, and who has been photographed by candlelight and backlighted and in shadows and at awkward angles—who has been given to us in such strange ways that the suspicion grows (though it is baseless) that only *portions* of Brando were ever in the Coppola world at any one time. And then Marlon Brando's Kurtz pontificates, rambles a bit, moves quite delicately about his spaces, and somehow appears more reclusive than bonkers. Willard informs us that "everything I saw told me that Kurtz had gone insane," though Kurtz does less to confirm that verdict that Lt. Colonel Kilgore did with his surfing-*cum*-napalming lark. It is not so much that Brando is atrocious in his part, as that there is no part for him to act. He is a presence, not really a character, and had we never seen Kurtz the film would have been better off, though the film maker probably would not have been, since, after the *Godfather* films (Coppola's masterpieces), the Brando name is likely the insurance policy on Coppola's investment.

The rest of the cast does quite a bit better. Martin Sheen, who replaced the original Willard, Harvey Keitel, survived the movie, and a heart attack, and even survives the narration he has been made to mouth. This much-underrated actor, scarcely known by American movie audiences, registers his Willard's experiences on a face that only rarely changes expression; but his is a face with eyes that suck up everything, and as we look into them we see, more than in the snatches of Kurtz that we're permitted to glimpse, the true insanity of the war and the jungle.

Robert Duvall delivers another of his undeniably fantastic performances, as Lt. Colonel Kilgore. In the credits (contained in a sleek little black-covered program that you get instead of screen acknowledgements) Duvall is listed below Brando and before Sheen—alphabetically?—though his is the indispensible performance, his the true whirligig mentality of the tale. Duvall resembles now a junior Douglas MacArthur, now a parody of John Wayne, now a loony lad in the body of a tough middle-aged soldier fathering his boys and consigning a certain number of them to hideous death, just before he settles down for a nice evening of steaks and booze and tall tales. It is a manic performance that makes the stopover with those helicopter jockeys one of the two vital episodes of a movie packed with numbingly forceful events.

Dennis Hopper plays Dennis Hopper playing photo-journalist. It is the Dennis Hopper I've met off the screen, and while it is in its way perfect for the occasion, it is also what he offers on every occasion. Whether that is "acting" or just being, I don't know. It is, in any case, as a sort of guardian chatterbox before the inner sanctum of the elusive Kurtz that Hopper's character functions in *Apocalypse Now*. Since Coppola asked earlier, at Cannes, for suggestions on how to tidy up his film, maybe it is not too much impudence to offer this: the photo-journalist *describing* Kurtz, and the carnage *exemplifying* Kurtz's way, would have sufficed as Willard's entire contact with the Idea of Kurtz. In short, though the movie should probably have stopped as Willard first glimpsed the Kurtz temple and killing gardens, it might have held up even to the point of some explanations given by the photographer to the captain. But in we are led, to meet Kurtz. It is done.

The four men of the boat, two black, two white (Frederic Forrest, Larry Fishburne, Sam Bottoms, and Albert Hall), come closer to exemplifying the actual make-up of the American front-line troops in Vietnam than the overwhelmingly

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"This is a movie that is best when it avoids the sound of comprehensible language, best when it relies on its appearance, its music, its impressions upon the eye for the development of its strangely psychedelic story."

white cast of *The Deer Hunter*. But very little is made of race, while a great deal is made of the common decency, dissolving into a shared edginess and then into what almost becomes a shared madness, of the American troops. Save for Brando, the cast of *Apocalypse Now* gives a weight to the story that the story itself lacks.

Vittorio Storaro's photography is the greatest achievement of *Apocalypse Now*. Hardly a second of the film is pedestrian in its look, scarcely an important scene is denied its fullest visual weight under the careful guidance of Storaro, the cinematographer for Bernardo Bertolucci (hence a veteran in the service of photographing the later Brando: *Last Tango in Paris)*. This is a movie that is best when it avoids the sound of comprehensible language, best when it relies on its appearance, its music, its impressions upon the eye for the development of its strangely psychedelic story. From the first scene, those trees, to the following image, Willard waking in Saigon, to the last we see of Willard confronting a worshipful group of the dead Kurtz's Montagnard tribesmen, and along much of the excursion into the heart of darkness of our time, we learn the lesson Coppola wishes to teach—we learn, I should say, as much of that lesson as Coppola is able to teach in this uneven but compelling film—without benefit of a good half, if not more, of the actual sentences we hear. If *Apocalypse Now* fails to say the last word on its subject, it succeeds greatly in leading us close to where, at the end of our own voyage of discovery, we must wind up. The true horror we are shown in *Apocalypse Now* requires no reiteration of the very word in Kurtz's dying moment: it is there from the start, intensified by much of what follows, and obvious, by now, to anyone who knows what *we* did, what *they* did, what was done by and done to almost everybody who set foot in Indochina for a decade or more. *Apocalypse Now* will be called by some an exercise in folly; those people are at one, however imperfectly they might understand it, with those who said of the War that it required, for its winning, just one more ton of bombs. Some there are who see a light at the end of the blackest tunnel; others who cannot see a shimmering light for a few specks of soot. ❑

LR's film critic reviews also for WNAC-TV (CBS) in Boston.

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Of women and water and museums and freeways

SUSAN LOVE BROWN

The White Album, *by Joan Didion. Simon and Schuster, 223 pp., $9.95.*

JOAN DIDION IS ONE of the finest contemporary writers in the United States. She has earned this reputation from a relatively small volume of work: *Run, River,* a first novel set in the Sacramento River Valley; *Slouching Towards Bethlehem,* a collection of magazine pieces about California, the 60s, places, and thoughts; *Play It As It Lays,* a second novel set in Hollywood; *A Book of Common Prayer,* an exquisite third novel that takes place in a wholly imaginary, though completely imaginable, Central American country; and, now, *The White Album.*

It is rare for a writer to be equally adept at nonfiction and fiction, at journalism and novels. Yet, Didion is. Her style, which has been compared to Hemingway's (but which is, I think, superior to his in its emotional impact) is the hallmark of her talent. It lends itself to the journalistic, in which Didion's strength is her poignancy of observation—her dead reckoning and her ability to make the distant parts of the world into intimate realities. It lends itself also to the fictional, in which Didion's style is strongly rhythmic and hypnotic.

Slouching Towards Bethlehem was the first Didion book I ever read and a true literary discovery for me. *The White Album* comes close to it in quality and experience. A collection of magazine pieces written between 1968 and 1978, *The White Album* contains a long and rambling title essay concerned with Didion's personal passage through this decade—an outer passage during which she rubbed up against the times, and an inner passage during which she tried to hold herself together mentally.

But of more interest are the other 19 pieces, in which Didion shrewdly captures parcels of reality indicative of those years.

I have always wanted a swimming pool, and never had one. When it became generally known a year or so ago that California was suffering severe drought, many people in water-rich parts of the country seemed obscurely gratified, and made frequent references to Californians having to brick up their swimming pools. In fact a swimming pool requires, once it has been filled and the filter has begun its process of cleaning and recirculating the water, virtually no water, but the symbolic content of swimming pools has always been interesting: a pool is misapprehended as a trapping of affluence, real or pretended, and of a kind of hedonistic attention to the body. Actually a pool is, for many of us in the West, a symbol not of affluence but of order, of control over the uncontrollable. A pool is water, made available and useful, and is, as such, infinitely soothing to the western eye.

"Holy Water," from which the above passage is quoted, expresses Didion's "reverence" for water. She is fascinated with the origins and routes of water throughout the state of California and describes in detail a visit to the Operations Control Center for the California State Water Project. She describes her desire to fill and drain and move about various quantities of water and, in passing, makes it very clear how little most of us in California—or elsewhere—know about the ebb and flow of the water in our lives. We take it for granted. Didion does not.

The heroine of *Play It As It Lays* used to drive up and down Los Angeles freeways on her better days. One is reminded of this as one turns to "Bureaucrats," a superb piece about Didion's visit to the Operations Center of the Los Angeles office of Caltrans (The California Department of Transportation). It seems to have been Didion's object to dissect the situation involving the establishment of the project known as The Diamond Lane. This project reserved "the fast inside lanes on the Santa Monica [Los Angeles's Santa Monica Freeway] for vehicles carrying three or more people," which meant reserving "25 percent of the freeway ... for 3 percent of the cars." According to Caltrans, the purpose of the project was to encourage "a certain rearrangement of people's daily planning." What it achieved was another thing entirely: it transformed the Santa Monica Freeway into "a 16.2-mile parking lot." Didion has almost as much an affinity with freeways as she does with waterways, and she understands very clearly the inanity of trying to force the same number of people into fewer vehicles and the resistance of people to this bureaucratic notion. Didion understands the "rapture of the freeways"—the intense feeling that comes from the concentration necessary to negotiate various challenges that present themselves to freeway drivers. But, alas, the bureaucrats do not understand. Reflects Didion, "It occurred to me that a certain rearrangement of people's daily planning might seem, in less rarefied air than is breathed at 120 Spring Street [home of Caltrans], rather a great deal to want, but so impenetrable was the sense of higher social purpose there in the Operations Center that I did

Joan Didion

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not express this reservation." However, later on, "it occurred to me that they might have their own rapture down at 120 Spring Street, and it could be called Perpetuating the Department."

Before he died, J. Paul Getty, one of the world's richest men, built a museum which stands just off of Highway 101 in Malibu. I once heard a rumor that Getty kept a pay telephone in his home to prevent his well-travelled visitors from taking unfair advantage of his wealth. I never found out if this rumor was true, but the museum that Getty built belies any possible suspicion of penury — the Getty museum is opulent and is eternally free to the public. Strangely enough, this museum is highly disliked by those people who make it their business to criticize museums:

"To mention this museum in the more enlightened of those very dining rooms it is said to resemble," Didion writes, "is to invite a kind of nervous derision, as if the place were a local hoax, a perverse and deliberate affront to the understated good taste and general class of everyone at the table." To understand this reaction one must see "The Getty." Or one must read Didion's extraordinarily perceptive piece on it in *The White Album*. The Getty museum does not fit the tasteful picture that we are all taught to expect of a museum. It has shining marbles, colorful murals, flowing fountains, and porticos. It is resplendent.

A museum is now supposed to kindle the untrained imagination, but this museum does not. A museum is now supposed to set the natural child in each of us free, but this museum does not. This was art acquired to teach a lesson, and there is also a lesson in the building which houses it: the Getty tells us that the past was perhaps different from the way we like to perceive it. Ancient marbles once appeared just as they appear here: as strident, opulent evidence of imperial power and acquisition. Ancient murals were not always bleached and mellowed and "tasteful." Ancient murals once looked as they do here: as if dreamed by a Mafia don. Ancient fountains once worked, and drowned out that very silence we have come to expect and want from the past. Ancient bronze once gleamed ostentatiously. The old world was once discomfitingly new, or even nouveau, as people like to say about the Getty.

Recently I visited another museum and saw three Georgia O'Keeffe paintings. They were not particularly attractive paintings — and definitely not the most outstanding of hers I had ever seen. But they made me smile, because they reminded me of Georgia O'Keeffe the woman, as captured by Didion in her piece "Georgia O'Keeffe." Here is a woman "hard, a straight shooter, a woman clean of received wisdom and open to what she sees." I could not help but think of more of Didion's words as I looked at those paintings— that closeup of a flower, those red hills: "Some women fight and others do not. Like so many successful guerrillas in the war between the sexes, Georgia O'Keeffe seems to have been equipped early with an immutable sense of who she was and a fairly clear understanding that she would be required to prove it."

The O'Keeffe essay and two others comprise the section of *The White Album* simply titled "Women." One of the remaining two pieces in this section, "The Women's Movement," deals with those women who do not have an "immutable sense" of who they are, and do not realize that they approach the spoils of feminism—the career mystique—exactly as they did the mystique of marriage, without ever making a commitment to adult life and responsibility. This fact, says Didion, is the true commentary on what this culture has done to women.

There are many more pieces worth reading in *The White Album,* but I cannot mention them here. Whether Didion is visiting Honolulu, or talking about Hollywood, or explaining the mechanics of a migraine headache, or waxing eloquent on the phenomenon of shopping malls, she is providing useful information screened through the mind of an intelligent observer. Many writers who try to reflect on the world around them fail miserably. Didion, in *The White Album,* succeeds magnificently.

Susan Love Brown lives in San Diego.

Tattling to the state

LESLEE J. NEWMAN

Fight Back! And Don't Get Ripped Off, *by David Horowitz. Harper & Row, 308 pp., $8.95.*

IS SOMEONE OUT TO trick you, bamboozle you, take you to the cleaners? Are you kidded, conned, and kicked around? You, too, can FIGHT BACK with David Horowitz as he peps you, cheers you, and rahs you into action. He'll tell you things you already know. He'll give you information you read in Consumer Reports last month. He'll advise you not to buy a used car unless you have checked it out mechanically. He'll tell you that if the service is lousy at a restaurant you shouldn't tip. He'll explain to you that you ought not to shop at a supermarket just because it wants to help you build a cheap set of tableware.

Horowitz, the consumer reporter and host of his own network consumer show for NBC, claims he learned his trade from his mother Dora, "Captain Consumer." It seems that one day at the tender age of seven, little David accompanied Dora to the produce stand. Oranges which normally sold for 3¢ a piece were suddenly marked down to 2 for 5¢. Dora asked why there was a special price and was told that one orange cost 3¢ and the second one 2¢. She demanded to know the difference, was told there was none, and walked away with one orange for 2¢. But when she got home she found that her orange was shrivelled inside. She marched David back to the produce stand, traded in her dried orange for a plumper one, and threatened to turn in the produce man to the local Department of Health.

That's when David learned to tattle to the state. He calls it "Uncle Sam is looking out for you." He's excited about the Federal Trade Commission's proposal that car dealers paste window stickers on their used cars describing all of the auto's mechanical problems. He protests that the National Automobile Dealers Association is fighting this proposal (because it feels that enforcement would be too costly and that each dealer would bear the liability of any nondisclosure, even if it were accidental), but insists that "we need this protection because one out of every ten used cars is defective." Coach Horowitz considers such proposals a giant step forward for consumerism: he doesn't seem to realize that it would also be a giant step forward for new regulation, bribery, and higher prices in the used car business.

Our consumer advocate also proudly discusses truth-in-menu laws, on the books since the '30s but only recently enforced in some large cities. He says that if you order "fresh shrimp" or "Fresh Maine lobster" it

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"Captain Consumer"

must really be fresh or else you can turn in the restaurant for misrepresentation. If you don't know if it's fresh, ask the waiter; if he squirms, ask to see a supplier's invoice. Similarly, if it's frozen orange juice instead of freshly squeezed, don't stand for it; if it's cheaper turkey salad instead of chicken salad, throw a fit; if it's not kosher, walk out — straight to the D.A. And there's the great soup swindle: "Do you order a bowl, pay for a bowl, and really get a cup?" If so, write your local restaurant association; file a complaint. Horowitz admits that the restaurant association will try to keep its members clean to avoid a fullfledged regulatory crackdown, and has probably, in fact, already installed its own menu guidelines. But if such restaurant fraud is widespread in your community, he says, call the city attorney or the county health department.

And if you really want to be a good consumer you should be equipped with a pocket calculator. It's crucial when you do your marketing or are adding up the restaurant check. Also, there's the tape recorder you should bring along for making that major purchase — just to get the facts straight and avoid any misunderstanding later on. A voluntary tape recording, according to Dave, makes things easier for the prosecuting attorney too —and is admissible in court.

Our coach does realize that a court of law might not always be the best solution, although he frequently recommends it. He acknowledges that even if you win your case in court, there could be difficulty in collecting a judgment. And he admits that a smart conman knows how to evade attachment of bank accounts, liens on private property, and the arrival of marshalls at places of work. He even talks about the feasibility of arbitration, where it is possible to get a free hearing in as little as ten days, with a mediator skilled on the issue being debated. He laments, however, that such decisions are not appealable or not always enforceable under state law. He fails to realize that if two people refuse to be bound, little can force them to be bound.

Finally, Dave leans ever so slightly toward the libertarian by advising friends and neighbors to organize privately in fighting mass ripoffs by local merchants. But he advises them to take the evidence they gather to a District Attorney or state attorney general's office, in addition to suggesting that they all stop patronizing the store. Now, Mr. Horowitz, shouldn't that boycott be more effective than using the government stick? If only Captain Consumer had thrown her orange in the face of the produce man and threatened never to purchase his fruit again.

Leslee J. Newman is a contributing editor of LR.

All in the "family"

TIM OZENNE

The Business of Organized Crime: A Cosa Nostra Family, *by Annelise Graebner Anderson. Hoover Institution Press, 179 pp., $10.95.*

ACCORDING TO ONE version of the story, the existence of organized crime represents a major threat to the attainment of a free, just society in America. The prospect that the police, courts, and other public officials might be ineffective in securing the lives and property of law-abiding individuals against a powerful, sinister society of criminals is itself scary, but an even more ominous threat is that the government might be brought in league with the criminals. To whom could one turn once the government itself has been bought off by the forces of evil? The dread of such prospects could lead one to acquiesce to a substantial budget for efforts to combat organized crime; it might even sustain a move to expand the range of powers permitted government to intrude into otherwise private matters— wiretaps, "bugs," and similar surveillance measures being among the more obvious special powers that might be "justified" by reference to the real or imagined threats of organized crime. We are told, that is, that in order to guard against the Mafia taking over, it will be necessary that ordinary citizens part with some of their money and some of their freedom. Moreover, the argument is made that every profitable vice is an invitation to the forces of darkness to invade, with the profits from otherwise seemingly harmless pursuits being used to finance more sinister — but evidently less profitable — activities. Can any crime be

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truly "victimless," we are asked, if it offers a toehold for racketeers?

The real dangers of crime, organized or "free lance," then, have to be weighed against the costs of suppression, where these costs include some sacrifice of individual choice and privacy.

In *The Business of Organized Crime: A Cosa Nostra Family,* Annelise Graebner Anderson contributes to our understanding of the organized crime dilemma by illuminating the activities of a "family." She goes into considerable detail, even to the extent of preparing some twenty tables depicting the group's age distribution, industrial classifications of legitimate business holdings, income ranges, and so forth. While Anderson would be the first to admit that this portrayal does not tell us all we might want to know, she has assembled perhaps the most exhaustive body of systematic data concerning a single group of "organized" felons currently available outside the law enforcement community.

After an initial chapter devoted to establishing that such shadowy institutions as the Cosa Nostra exist — a task necessary because of the peculiar absence of readily verifiable evidence that this is not all sheer fantasy* — Anderson begins her study by summarizing the "Benguerra" family, its organizational structure, major areas of activity, the powers of the boss, and its numbers, both in terms of true "members" as well as "associates"; the chapter concludes with a general comparison of the functioning of the Benguerra family and the ordinary business firms and a discussion of the quasi-governmental roles which the family fulfills. Chapters III and IV are devoted to somewhat more detailed discussions of the family's principal illegal activities, numbers gambling and loansharking. The nature and extent of the family's interests in legitimate businesses, and an analysis of the economic rationale behind those interests, appear in the fifth and sixth chapters. Chapter VII delves into the interrelationship between the legitimate and illegal activities of the family. The final chapter offers some observations on how public policy affecting organized crime might be revised. For the most part, this case study is based upon what appears to have been a lengthy study of files provided by an unnamed federal agency. Anderson has avoided (I presume intentionally) developing in any detail specific instances or episodes and instead confines the research to depicting the general patterns which she found in the data.

Unfortunately there are difficulties in knowing how much credence one can place in Anderson's data. The name of the family is a pseudonym, for obvious reasons. More questionable is Anderson's inability or unwillingness to disclose either the geographical location of the subject group — except to say it is not New York, but is one of the nation's twenty largest cities — or the name of the federal agency which was the exclusive source of her primary data. Anderson asserts (page 151): "Were the same data available to another researcher, it is likely that the differences in results would be minor." Perhaps so, but there is something rather unsatisfying when social science research is founded upon data sources which are not open to independent verification and scrutiny.

The inaccessibility of Anderson's primary data exacerbates the other major methodological problem of this study, its reliance on a case study technique. Particularly in the early phases of research, case studies may suggest hypotheses which may be testable once a sufficient stock of similar studies has accumulated. Not knowing from whence the Anderson data came will make it problematic whether another study confirms hypotheses drawn from this case or merely replicates prior results. (But perhaps some scholar-detectives will find it a challenge to deduce from such clues as Anderson may have inadvertently left the true source, city, and family identity.)

The inherent limitations of the case study approach are illustrated by the severe difficulties of interpreting Anderson's findings regarding the age distribution of the subject group. Anderson shows that the group is declining in size and advancing in years. Apparently it is experiencing little success in recruiting new membership, though it is not clear that the group's leadership is troubled on this score. In any case, this might be taken to mean, to the extent this "family" is typical, that the phenomenon is on the decline, having had its origins in Prohibition but now lacking a sufficient base for continued vigor. But, if we liken this family to a firm, we must allow for the possibility that, even if this family-firm is representative, the fate of the industry can be very different from any one of its members. Thus, decline of one member firm is consistent with decline, stability, or growth of the industry as a whole.

This is not to say, however, that Anderson does not employ economic thinking in interpreting the data. Ostensibly it was the search for an economic (i.e., wealth-seeking) rationale for the legitimate business interests of organized crime that led Anderson to write this book, and she generally adopts an economic framework in organizing the data. Thus we find considerable attention devoted to the income prospects of family participants, and little attention to, say, religious practice or political affiliation.

There are many points throughout the book where one might wish Anderson had pressed the economic analysis a bit further. For instance, she is intrigued by the payoffs on numbers games. According to Anderson's data, the numbers games operated by the subject group pays $600 on a $1 bet, compared to a $1,000 hypothetical payoff in an actuarially "fair" game, or $500, which is said to be typical in numbers games elsewhere. While Anderson recognizes that the costs of doing business — whether openly or covertly — preclude "fair" payoffs, she contends that the prevailing price is a monopoly price and such monopoly prices are "very costly to the consumer." This, however, does not address the question of inferring the competitive price or the question of how to measure resource misallocation losses in the specific case of games of chance. These are questions amenable to economic analysis, and that analysis could be helpful in considering public policy dealing with the suppression, or license, of gambling. Do inter-city price differences reflect different degrees of monopoly control, demand conditions, or geographic disparities in the costs of doing business? What relation does the structure — monopolistic,

* "This insularity [of police information gathering] makes it very difficult to have a discussion about organized crime, since the police can rightly claim they have most of the facts. Most discussions end up sounding like debates about UFO's: Those who have seen one are arrayed on one side, and all of those who have never seen one but dispute the validity or interpretation of the observations are on the other." Peter Reuter and Jonathan B. Rubinstein, "Fact, Fancy, and Organized Crime," *The Public Interest,* 53 (Fall 1978) p. 59.

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oligopolistic, competitive—bear to the honesty with which the activity is conducted? Finally, and perhaps a bit removed from Anderson's central interests, what measure of gambling losses is appropriate in light of the fact that the legislative-political process does not recognize gambling as a legitimate activity in the first place? To employ a "consumer sovereignty" perspective is to reject the apparent goal of all public policy designed to suppress gambling or other "victimless" crimes. This is not to say that such suppression ought to go unquestioned, but only to suggest that there may be a certain inconsistency in applying the usual precepts of economic efficiency in cases where the presumption in favor of voluntary exchange is in conflict with public policy.

Anderson's treatment of loansharking might similarly have benefitted from a more ambitious attempt to bring economic reasoning to bear, particularly in light of the paucity of data. I gather that loansharking refers to supplying credit on terms not sanctioned by the legal system. Anderson reaches no conclusion as to whether this market is better characterized as monopolistic or competitive; apparently this industry is less formally organized than the numbers operations, though there is some reported effort to protect the interests of a lender in the borrower's capacity to repay by preventing the borrower from dealing simultaneously with more than one lender. Nevertheless, the analysis that is provided is on the right track, and one can only hope that other researchers similarly adopt an economic framework. Anderson makes that charge somewhat easier by providing an excellent bibliography that encompasses a very large proportion of the existing literature on the economics of crime. In fact, whether or not *Organized Crime* has any direct impact upon public policy, it is likely destined to become a standard sourcebook and reference in the field—not an unworthy fate.

Curiously enough, Anderson herself confesses that economic analysis alone seems incapable of explaining all of the data she lays before the reader. But I do not know what to make of her response, for she seems to want to cast such thorny problems to the tender mercies of the sociologists, who also apparently lack useful answers. This is no better illustrated than with the sensitive problem that, according to reports from Dr. Anderson's sources and other studies—not to mention the prevailing folklore—Italian Americans appear frequently to "own" the dominant firms in the organized crime industry; moreover, there is considerable ethnic homogeneity in each firm. The regularity of such phenomena calls for some explanation. Yet about all that Anderson offers is reference to prior sociological studies which suggest that people with ethnic origins in southern Italy seem to be better at such things as organized crime than others—not a satisfactory explanation, even for non-Italians!

As is evidenced by several points in the book, Anderson obviously appreciates the crucial interdependency between law enforcement and organized criminal groups. She reflects the conventional wisdom that the potential for police corruption is among the most troublesome aspects of organized crime. In her description of the family's activities she makes reference to bribes, but her treatment of corruption is unsatisfying, particularly in view of the apparent opportunity to go much further. For example, in discussing the possible advantages a criminally oriented individual or group might enjoy in the operation of a legitimate enterprise, Anderson cites the opportunity to bribe public officials for zoning changes, permit issue, and so forth. She then mentions an attempt to bribe a regulatory agency, *but she leaves it at that!* Which agency? For what favor? Was the bribe successful? What was the source of the information? Did the police investigate further? If so, with what result? Anderson does not explain whether she judged such details lacking in interest, whether they simply were not available, or if she was prohibited from making more extensive disclosure. This is a problem common to many of the observations Anderson makes: one cannot tell whether the lack of specific detail is unavoidable or intentional, or just how much information underlies the account she offers. Nor does she offer any insight concerning whether extraneous materials appears in these files, thus missing an opportunity to contribute to public policy discussion regarding the cost of combatting organized crime by expanding police surveillance capabilities. An unbeliever might very well come away feeling that this was another UFO account, or that the constraints placed on Anderson undermine credibility irreparably.

Even if one were convinced of the validity and accuracy of Anderson's reported data, there remains a substantial gulf between the positive analysis of most of the book and the normative policy prescriptions offered in the last chapter. She begins the final chapter by factually noting the increased efforts to combat organized crime since the early 1960s. She points out that official statistics regarding the war against organized crime tends to address law enforcement effort rather than organized criminal activity itself; a rational evaluation of public policy requires a better statistical basis. But next, after concluding that the impact of the Benguerra family on its community has been, after all, quite modest, Dr. Anderson goes on to conjecture that the federal government may have over-reacted in establishing a full-fledged strike force in the city in 1960. The flavor of this is suggested in the following passage:

"If the activities of the Benguerra family are representative of other organized criminal groups in the United States, it is questionable whether the current level of resources devoted to fighting organized crime is warranted, and it is especially doubtful that fears of organized crime should be used to justify legislation involving incursions into privacy and the potential for abuse, as does the Bank Secrecy Act." (p. 141)

I could not agree more. The pity is that the preceding materials may fail to convince others who have been—and will likely continue to be—treated to police and media stories intimating that a takeover by powerful conspiratorial groups is but a failed budget appropriation away. Since Anderson lacks a quantitative assessment of the social consequences of existing criminal syndicates, or, more to the point, an assessment of the changes in those consequences attributable to alternative levels of enforcement resources or strategies, the question of appropriate directions for policy changes remains unanswerable. This is not to say that better policy-making must necessarily await the perfection of detailed data bases and cost-effectiveness studies, but I would suggest that it would be prudent to develop a bit richer quantitative basis for arguing alterations in public policy.

In any case, Dr. Anderson's book contributes im-

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portantly to the analysis of public policy with respect to organized crime. It offers a factual, dispassionate depiction of a worrisome phenomenon, with as much detail as is apparently possible given the difficulties and constraints currently facing researchers. Hopefully this accomplishment will be imitated by others, until at last a sufficient empirical basis exists for a more definitive policy critique.

Dr. Tim Ozenne is an economist who is the Public Affairs Coordinator of the Getty Oil Company in Los Angeles.

Self-esteem and the art of politics

JOAN KENNEDY TAYLOR

"LIBERTARIANS NEED to understand why people have been willing to put up with dictatorship."

So spoke one of the best known figures in the libertarian movement, Dr. Nathaniel Branden, the controversial psychologist who for some years has been holding three-and-a-half-day workshops, called Intensives, in major cities across the country.

I was talking to Dr. Branden in Los Angeles earlier this year, during one of the "stretching breaks" that punctuate his Intensive at comfortable intervals. Between one hundred and two hundred people had come together from all over California (and neighboring states) for an unusual experience. They were confronting their own inner thoughts and feelings and memories, by being guided through a series of mental and physical exercises which had been structured by Dr. Branden to lead them to a deeper understanding of themselves. Only those who volunteered to do so made their reactions to these exercises public to the group—but many did, as the experience seemed to create its own world of increasing honesty and support.

Branden intersperses these exercises with intellectual discussions, which make the experiences more understandable and also place them in a wider framework.

But what has openness and honesty and self-knowledge to do with dictatorship? Dr. Branden promised me that he would be discussing that very issue when the Intensive recommenced after the break—the political implications of self-esteem and its lack.

Back in the workshop, he described how, after he had discovered that deficiencies in self-esteem (or self-estimate, or feelings of self-worth) underlay most of the psychological problems brought to him by clients, he looked at history with fresh eyes and began to wonder—what happens to people that enables them to become so inhuman to each other?

"Your first reaction is, are people really that *mean*?" he said. "But then you realize that it can't be simple meanness, because people are equally willing to die for a great cause or kill for it."

If you start adding up on the one hand all the crimes and atrocities which people commit for personal motives—for gain, or for revenge, or to benefit their families—and on the other hand, all the crimes and atrocities which people commit in the name of high-sounding abstractions, it becomes apparent, points out Branden, that everything in the first category is just a "spit in the ocean" compared to the second.

Something happens when people become part of a movement. But what? Branden has an answer to that question. Many people themselves, and feel that

NEIL HEILPERN

Dr. Nathaniel Branden at the 1979 Libertarian Party convention.

commit for personal motives—for gain, or for revenge, or to benefit their families—and on the other hand, all the crimes and atrocities which people commit in the name of high-sounding abstractions, it becomes apparent, points out Branden, that everything in the first category is just a "spit in the ocean" compared to the second.

Something happens when people become part of a movement. But what? Branden has an answer to that question. Many people feel a great lack within their lives are worthwhile only when they can feel absorbed in something larger than themselves. This "something larger" can be a political movement, or a religion, or something as seemingly insignificant as the organization that employs you. Or even the audience at an entertainment or a rally.

In each case, the key to what happens to the person who feels the need to be part of something larger is that he or she has lost touch with inner feelings and reactions as they happen. Because these feelings are too painful, or perhaps because you cannot accept being the kind of person you are, or because you feel there are models in your life that you must at all costs live up to, you deny and cut yourself off from awareness of your own inner life on a systematic basis. The result is a sense of depersonalization; as Branden puts it, of a void within.

The person whose self-image is threatened by actual feelings and reactions then feels driven to look for substitutes, something to fill this void. But in the process he or she has become in an important sense dehumanized: the data on which to base decisions for actions is coming from signals from without, rather than from signals from within. It is only a step to the dehumanization of others.

Think of the group that followed the Reverend Jim Jones to the jungles of Guyana, and the way in which its members were willing to accept, first, total emotional dependency; second, total financial self-sacrifice; next, the acceptance of "discipline" that could include torture; and

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finally, murder and suicide.

Think of the fans at a rock concert, tearing the clothes off their supposed "idol." Think of a lynch mob.

Or think about an experiment conducted by Stanley Milgram at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, over fifteen years ago on a group of male residents of New Haven who were randomly selected to include a wide range of occupations, educational levels, and ages.

As the individual subject experienced it, what happened was the following:

He goes to a room at the University where he is introduced to Dr. Soandso, who thanks him for assisting scientific inquiry by taking part in the experiment. ("If you see a man in a white coat who says he's a doctor, you immediately know that nothing can be wrong, right?" interjects Branden in describing the experiment. "Of course.")

The subject is then introduced to another man, and it is explained that they are both to be involved in an experiment on the effects of punishment on learning. They draw lots to determine which of them will take the role of the "learner" and which the role of the "teacher." The other man is chosen as the "learner."

The learner is then strapped into an apparatus similar to an electric chair. Our subject is taken to the next room, and is seated in front of an electric control board with 30 switches marked in 15-volt increments. In addition, the board is labeled in sections which range from Slight Shock through Intense Shock to a red section labeled Danger: Severe Shock. The final two switches are simply marked XXX.

The subject is then told that he is to read a series of word-pairs into a microphone. The man in the next room is to memorize these, and, when the subject repeats the first word of each pair together with four other words, is to indicate which word completes the pair by pressing a switch to light one of four lights on the control board. If he makes a mistake, the subject is to administer an electric shock. For each succeeding mistake, the shock is to be 15 volts more intense.

A lot of mistakes are made. The subject finds himself moving up the voltage scale. Rapidly he reaches a point at which the man in the other room bangs on the wall as if begging to be released, after which he ceases to respond. The subject is then told to treat each missing response as a wrong answer. If he wants to discontinue, an experimenter in the room with him reminds him that the entire session will be useless to science unless the experiment is completed, and asks him to please continue. If he continues, the learner never responds again.

Now, the man in the other room is an actor. It was predetermined that he would play the role of the learner; the drawing of lots was rigged. There is no electric shock — it is the *subject's* reactions that are being studied, not the relationship of punishment to learning. The experiment was carefully designed to screen out any extraneous factors such as financial loss (a small fee is paid to each subject which he knows he will receive whether or not he discontinues) or intimidation on the part of the experimenter. The subject is free to leave at any time—all that is holding him there is that he is being told by an authority to continue.

The question the experiment asked was — under such circumstances, how far would the average American man go?

Before the experiment was conducted, a panel of psychological experts were asked to predict the results. Several members of the panel thought that most of the subjects would quit after administering a few mild shocks, and that no one could be found who would continue to the end of the experiment. The most pessimistic prediction was that 14 percent would go all the way.

Sixty-five percent of the subjects went all the way. Some were weeping; some were shaking; some flung themselves around the room before returning to the electric dials. But 65 percent of a group of normal, healthy, randomly selected American males were willing to torture another human being for no more reason than that a "scientist" said that something could be learned from the result. The world of psychology was aghast at this finding.

A small group of subjects refused. At the indication that the experiment was proving painful to their fellow subject they just walked out, exhibiting no conflict about disobeying the authority. These subjects, psychologists concluded, somehow hung on to a strong enough sense of their own egos to refuse.

What, in Branden's terms, had they done? They had maintained a strong sense of self-worth, and therefore knew and accepted their own inner reactions to the situation. Further, they took these inner reactions as primary data on which to make a decision about action. For these people, no authority took precedence over their own direct experience and their own evaluations of it.

Branden summed up his discussion of these political implications of the importance of accepting your own reactions and feelings—and knowing what they are — this way:

"The more you cut off the signals you get from *inside,* the more you are apt to be controlled from *outside.*"

That is why, he said, people will not only put up with dictatorship, but will follow a charismatic leader even when he leads them to actions they might otherwise have identified as wrong.

At the end of the Intensive, whose exercises and interactions are all designed by Dr. Branden to help people clarify the signals they "get from inside," I asked him if he thought that his concern about movements in general had any particular applications for the libertarian movement. He replied:

"Libertarians, on average, have the same hang-ups as other people in our culture — intellectuals in particular. Anyone who imagines that just because you are a libertarian you are somehow enlightened as a full human being, hasn't been paying attention.

"If we are to have a free society, one of our primary tasks is to educate people in such a way that it would be impossible to get the results that Milgram's experiment produced. One of my central goals, as part of the process of enhancing and strengthening self-esteem, is to teach people to recognize and to honor their own inner signals.

"There can be no such thing as intellectual independence or autonomy in a person who is cut off from his own organism, cut off from feelings, emotions, the entire world of inner experience.

"Unfortunately, many libertarians who pride themselves on their intellectuality believe that being rational means being unconscious from the neck down, a kind of thinking robot. A robot, filled with his own sense of righteousness, is a potential killer. We don't need that among libertarians." ❑

Joan Kennedy Taylor is senior editor of LR.

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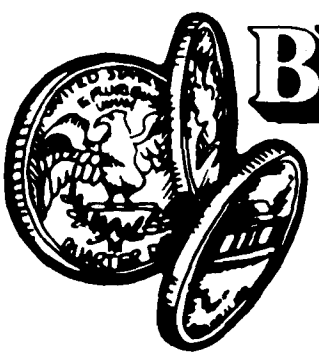

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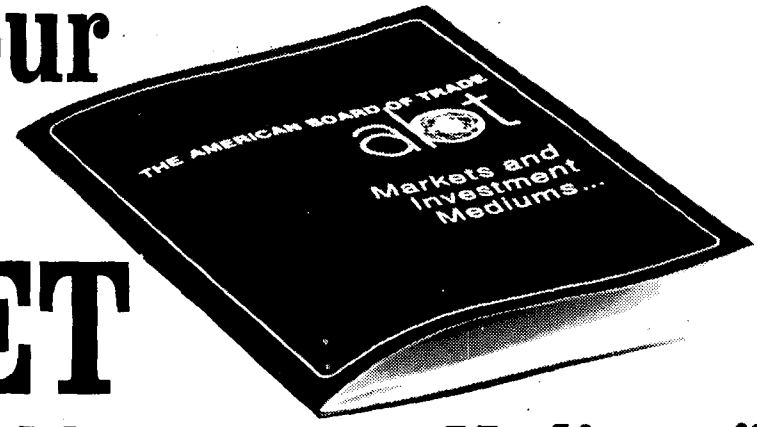

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